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THE JERUSALEM POST

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New breed of civil servants

The proposed economic reforms are the product of a quiet but far-reaching revolution at the top of the Israeli civil service. After decades of domination by people ideologically committed to government intervention as the main method of solving economic problems, a new breed of anti-interventionists and free-marketters has come to the fore.

The anti-interventionists are now waging a battle over the future direction of the economy with the vested interests that have benefited from decades of government support. The two biggest vested interests are the Histadrut trade unions and the large industrial firms - including those owned by the state and the Histadrut. These groups have been the sharpest critics of the aims, and not merely the details, of the reform programme, because their privileges are threatened by it.

ANALYSIS

PINHAS LANDAU

The unabashed liberalism of Finance Minister Nissim has allowed them to follow their instincts to a greater degree than even they themselves would have believed possible a few months ago. These authors of the draft budget published yesterday openly state in their introduction that the reforms they are proposing are much less extensive than they would have liked.

Who are these grey eminences, who stand behind the reform programme? Where have they come from, and why are they determined to end the government's domination of the economy and open it up to market forces?

The Treasury has become a bastion of almost fanatical anti-interventionists. Nissim himself is a genuine liberal, but his free-market nerve is hardly less than that of his deputy, Labour MK Adi Amichai, who is responsible for the capital markets and is overseeing their deregulation.

More committed still is Director-General Emmanuel Sharon, of whom one source said: "He came to the Treasury with an intellectual inclination in favour of less government, but his experiences there have made him almost obsessed by the need to end the government's distortions of economic activity."

The departmental heads seem to have little interest in the conventional bureaucratic pursuit of power. Many of them, like budget director Aharon Fogel, tax commissioner Yair Rabinowitz and State Revenue Commissioner Yisrael Baran, came from the private sector and will go back to it when they have finished their stint in public service.

The sense of conviction brought in by the outsiders, of whom Director-General Sharon is one, has rubbed off on the career civil servants who were brought up under a different philosophy. (Continued on Page 15)

Despite Labour opposition to economic plan Nissim bent on vote in Cabinet

By SARA HONIG and MICHAEL YUDELMAN
Jerusalem Post Reporters
TEL AVIV. - Finance Minister Moshe Nissim won't dare submit his economic plan for a vote in the cabinet on Sunday because of the strong opposition the plan has encountered in the Labour Party, in the Histadrut, and among the employers, Labour Party sources said last night. At most, the sources said, Nissim will raise his proposals for discussion.

But Nissim, apparently undaunted by the tide of opposition, told reporters in Tel Aviv yesterday that he was determined to bring the plan to a vote.

The opposition by Labour ministers to the plan was vigorously endorsed last night by a joint forum of the party political bureau, the

Labour Knesset faction and the party's representatives in the Histadrut executive.

The composite forum called on the government to revise the plan following consultations with the Histadrut and the employers. It also proposed setting up a public committee to examine current taxation policy and to propose tax and capital-market reforms which would enjoy a wide national consensus. The forum warned that if the plan was implemented as is, it would endanger the economic recovery achieved during Shimon Peres's premiership.

Only one speaker, MK Haim Ramon, had the courage to say anything positive about the programme. "It includes a lot of positive elements whose adoption is long overdue," he said.

Peres said at the meeting that the

economic recovery programme had succeeded "because we had Histadrut support. A dialogue with the Histadrut is essential."

Peres added that "a committee is needed to see whether the proposed capital market reforms will indeed encourage greater investment in industry and development and more exports."

He reiterated his opposition to defence budget cuts, arguing that any further cuts would irreparably harm security.

Economy Minister Gad Ya'acobi said the "plan might not kill the patient but it will surely make him a lot sicker." MK Ora Namir urged the dissolution of the national unity government and MK Eliyahu Spivak urged Labour to present an alternative economic programme of its own.

The Likud ministers will conclude their own deliberations on the programme today at Prime Minister Shamir's office.

Nissim yesterday blasted his critics, the manufacturers, the Histadrut and government ministers, saying none had any alternative to offer. "Everyone was screaming 'tax reform!' But when you present reforms, they don't want them any more."

Reiterating his opposition to any change in the programme's main elements - tax reform, reduction of government involvement in the capital market, and reduced interest rates - Nissim said he was open to ideas on how to improve the plan. But he said he would insist on a 45 per cent ceiling on marginal tax rates.

(Continued on Page 15)

McFarlane probed again on Israel's Iran arms link

By WOLF BLITZER
Jerusalem Post Correspondent
WASHINGTON. - Former national security adviser Robert McFarlane was recalled to the Senate Intelligence Committee yesterday because of the mounting controversy here surrounding apparent discrepancies between his testimony and that of White House Chief of Staff Donald Regan on Israel's role in the Iran arms affairs. Regan testified before the panel on Tuesday.

McFarlane has maintained - and repeated yesterday - that President Reagan "orally" authorized the first Israeli shipment of weapons to Iran in September of last year. Regan has maintained that the president did not authorize the shipments in advance, but did condone them retroactively, only after learning that Israel had gone through with the deal.

The issue is important because it involves potential violations of American law. Among the weapons sold by Israel to Iran in that first shipment were 500 U.S.-made TOW anti-tank missiles. Under U.S. law, Israel cannot transfer American-supplied weapons to a third country without prior U.S. approval.

Prime Minister Shamir's spokesman Yossi Ahimeir said yesterday in Jerusalem that Israel would not get involved in the conflicting testimonies. "We see the whole affair as an internal American matter," he said.

Israeli officials have maintained that David Kimche, the then director-general of the Foreign Ministry, had returned to Jerusalem from talks with McFarlane in Washington that summer with a clear signal of U.S. approval for the weapons shipment. But there was reportedly nothing in writing, except Kimche's personal notes.

Kimche and two private Israeli

arms dealers, Al Schwimmer and Ya'acov Nimrodi, were removed from the Iran arms dealings with the U.S. in December last year by then prime minister Peres, who was apparently concerned about the huge commissions taken by the two agents. Amiram Nir, Peres's adviser on counter-terrorism, was named the chief liaison to the NSC.

Secretary of State George Shultz, in a move to block meddling by White House aides, is ordering American ambassadors not to bypass him by engaging in secret communications with the National Security Council.

In a cable Wednesday to all U.S. embassies, Shultz said "all messages" should be sent through the State Department unless he or President Reagan orders the envoy to use

Brain tumour removed from CIA director Casey

WASHINGTON (Reuters). - Doctors yesterday removed a malignant tumour from the brain of Central Intelligence Agency Director William Casey, 73, a hospital statement said. Casey was reported to be in stable condition.

the "back channel" facilities set up by the CIA.

With the order, Shultz sought to block the NSC staff from excluding him from foreign policy operations abroad. "You will receive instructions only from or through the department," he told the ambassadors.

Shultz testified last week that he had limited knowledge of Iran's purchase of American weapons and knew "zero" about a fund to divert some of the profits to Nicaraguan rebels.

(Continued on Page 15)

Soldier axed in Ramallah

By JOEL GREENBERG and IDAN
A Palestinian teenager attacked an IDF soldier with an axe in Ramallah yesterday, gashing him deeply in the back of the neck.

According to Ariel Hausler, 20, his assailant gave him a number of powerful blows with an axe when he was on patrol at about noon at the Manara circle in downtown Ramallah.

Palestinian sources in Ramallah said Hausler was attacked as he examined the assailant's ID card.

Hausler said he heard the attacker shouting "Palestine" and other words in Arabic. "I felt someone hitting me repeatedly from behind, and when I turned around, he hit me again, and the axe grazed my forehead. It was a miracle that I wasn't more seriously hurt," Hausler said.

Hausler keeled over bleeding, but managed to grab the attacker, who was immediately subdued by a second soldier. A Border Guard patrol that arrived on the scene took the youth into custody.

The wounded soldier was treated by an army medic and was then taken to Hadassah Hospital on

Mount Scopus, where doctors stitched the gashes. Hausler was later sent to a military infirmary in Jerusalem.

IDF and Border Guard units yesterday searched Ramallah for possible accomplices in the attack.

Elsewhere in the West Bank, stones were thrown at vehicles near Nablus, and the windshield of an army truck was smashed.

In Ramallah, about 100 girls gathered in a main street, but dispersed quietly, military sources said.

Security forces demolished a house in Deir Abu Mash'al near Ramallah which belonged to a man suspected of involvement in an attack on an Israeli bus near the village in April. The bus driver, Solomon Hanuka, was wounded and later died, and two passengers were hurt. The High Court of Justice recently rejected an application against the demolition by the family of the suspect, Saleh Mohammed Yusuf Khreiz.

At the village of Sur Bahir, south of Jerusalem, Jewish National Fund officials uprooted more than 50 olive trees belonging to a villager. The officials maintain the trees were planted on state land which is to be used for a JNF forest.

Yeshiva man found with arson items

A student at the Shuvu Banim yeshiva in Jerusalem's Old City was arrested yesterday after police found rags and turpentine in his car. The car was abandoned Tuesday night following a chase, when its three occupants - said by police to be yeshiva students - fled the scene.

The student is the driver of the head of the yeshiva. He was arrested when he came to report the car stolen.

The arrest comes as police are investigating a possible connection between the booby-trapping of two Arab targets in the Old City on Wednesday and the spate of violence against Arabs that followed last month's murder of Eliyahu Amedi, who was a student at Shuvu Banim.

The car in which the incendiary materials were found was spotted by police on Tuesday night near the former Mandelbaum Gate. When police tried to stop the vehicle, the driver and occupants sped away into nearby Mea She'arim, abandoning it there.

The police have so far issued more than a dozen indictments against Jews suspected of violence during the demonstrations that followed Amedi's stabbing. But no arrests have been made in connection with Wednesday's booby-trapping of Arab targets near Dung Gate.

Police sappers safely dismantled the IDF-issue grenades which were attached to a car and a home. (Continued on Page 15)



Millionaire Gordon Getty (right) and conductor Gary Bertini, applauding and clapping at the end of yesterday's performance of scenes from Getty's concert opera 'Pump Jack,' in Jerusalem's Henry Crown Hall. See story page 2. (Kahana/Media)

Kashrut team probes gelatin from holy cows

By HAIM SHAPIRO
Jerusalem Post Reporter

A worldwide network of kashrut detectives is working for the Chief Rabbinate to ensure, among other things, that gelatin used to make marshmallows comes from the dried bones of sacred cows in India.

This was revealed by Rabbi Yitzhak Yakobovitch, head of the rabbinic kashrut department, who charged that fraudulent use was being made of his kashrut seal. The seal, issued for marshmallows produced by Dulchita-Ravago of Brussels, specified that those made in

October 1986 were kosher-parve, the rabbi said.

Now, he said, the same seal was being used for marshmallows made in November. Yakobovitch said a rabbi had supervised production in October and ensured that kosher gelatin was used. But Yakobovitch suspected that marshmallows produced afterwards contained cheaper, non-kosher gelatin.

The kosher rabbi, he said, is made from the sun-bleached bones of sacred cows from India. The bones are checked by a chemist to ensure that they contain no meat or

animal fat. Yakobovitch specified, however, that such gelatin is not *kosher lemehadrin* (kosher for the punctilious).

Once the bone is completely dry and devoid of marrow, the gelatin made from it is not only kosher, but also parve, even though the animal was not slaughtered according to Jewish ritual law, the rabbi said. The fact that the cows were sacred did not create any halachic problems, he added.

Only one factory in Belgium makes kosher gelatin, which is about 20 per cent more expensive than the

non-kosher gelatin. That may be made from scraps of meat and animal skin, including that of pigs.

Other ingredients in the marshmallows are glucose, sugar, water, flavouring and colour. The last two types of ingredients, in particular, must also be checked for kashrut.

To detect the illicit use of kashrut seals, he added, the rabbinic employed detectives in Israel and abroad. Detectives were also investigating the possibility of other forms of kashrut fraud, especially in Europe and the Far East, he said.

(Continued on Page 15)

THE MARKET BULLS & BEARS

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U.S., Israel involved in Angolan arms affair, too

By ALAN BEN-AMI
For The Jerusalem Post

Almost 10 years to the day before Israel and the U.S. began covertly sending arms to Iran, the two countries were allegedly involved in another joint undercover operation involving arms shipments to Zaire and Angola.

The arms shipments were part of an international effort by U.S. officials to get weapons to two guerrilla movements in Angola who were fighting a civil war against pro-Communist forces.

The shipments from Israel were briefly referred to in an article in the *New York Times Weekly Review*, reprinted in *The Jerusalem Post* on Monday. The author, 49-year-old John Stockwell, formerly served in the U.S. Marine Corps and the CIA.

He carried out covert operations in the Congo and Vietnam, and acted as coordinator of the Angolan operation.

In a telephone interview yesterday from his home in Elgin, Texas, Stockwell said the Angolan affair ended with a closed-door congressional hearing. Stockwell, who testified before the committee, wrote a book, *In Search of Enemies*, describing the entire operation.

He recalls three specific arms shipments to Africa involving Israel, beginning in the autumn of 1975.

"The first was a plane-load of about 1,000 120mm. shells sent by Israel to Zaire in a chartered plane, for transshipment to the FNLA and Unita forces who were the U.S. clients in Angola," he said.

The second arms shipment, according to Stockwell, involved shoulder-launched anti-aircraft missiles.

"We needed missiles in Angola to combat Cuban helicopters and fighter planes. We did not have the Stinger missile at that time, but [we had] the Redeye, which was not

quite appropriate and which was also classified, so it could not be released to African liberation movements, at least not without revealing the U.S. end of the operation."

"What we did was fly a plane-load of Redeye missiles to Israel, in exchange for Soviet Grail missiles captured in the '73 war, and these missiles we delivered to Angola."

Stockwell says the plan was for some 50 SA-7 Grail missiles to be loaded onto a U.S. plane which landed in Israel before flying on to Africa.

However, as Stockwell recalls, "on that plane, I sent two of my military advisers to examine the mis-

siles we were getting. After all, we were sending what was then almost \$1 million worth of the most sophisticated ground-to-air missiles in exchange for what really amounted to an obsolete Soviet weapon."

"I told them to be sure to check what they get. They reported that they opened the boxes and found the missiles were visibly defective, so they were rejected."

Stockwell says the replacement batch of missiles that Israel came up with looked better - but they too turned out to be defective. "When they were used in Angola, not one worked and not one plane was downed by them," he recalled. "But

since our relations with Israel were close, we just laughed it off."

The third load of weapons was sent by boat from Israel in a deal between Israel and Zaire. Although this was two years after Zaire had broken diplomatic relations with Israel, Stockwell says it was a deal worked out between Israel and Zaire's President Mobutu.

"That batch of arms was intended for Mobutu himself," said Stockwell, "but the deal fitted in with our objectives since we had been encouraging Mobutu to send weapons to Angola with promises that they would be replaced."

(Continued on Page 15)

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High Court will receive responses on Sunday

Sharir to answer queries on Nakash

By MENACHEM SHALEV
Jerusalem Post Reporter

Justice Minister Avraham Sharir has agreed to answer questions in the High Court on the secret information on which he based his decision not to extradite William Nakash to France.

In an interim hearing held before Supreme Court Registrar Judge Shmuel Zur yesterday, Nili Arad of the State Attorney's Office agreed to submit to the court by Sunday Sharir's answers to the following questions posed by the petitioners' attorney, Avraham Gal:

□ What is the information on which

the claim is based that an organization has threatened to kill Nakash? (In his affidavit to the court, Sharir claimed that Nakash had become a target for "Palestinian Arab organizations.")

□ What data did Sharir consider before deciding not to extradite Nakash?

□ What information did Sharir have about Nakash's safety in a French jail?

□ What were the outside opinions given to Sharir which helped him to formulate his decision on Nakash? What were these opinions given? What were the motives and reasons?

Were those who gave their opinions privy to all the Justice Ministry information concerning Nakash?

Meanwhile, Nakash's wife Rina has petitioned the Jerusalem Rabbinical Court to grant her a "conditional get" (bill of divorce) from her husband in anticipation of a possible High Court decision to extradite him to France.

Responding to the petition, the Rabbinical Court summoned Nakash for a divorce hearing to be held on January 18, 1987.

In an affidavit submitted to the High Court yesterday, Rina Nakash states that she "loves the husband of

her youth and wants to remain married to him." But she expresses her fear that, should he be extradited, she will remain an *aguna* (a married woman who is separated from her husband but who cannot remarry).

Should the Supreme Court decide to overturn Sharir's decision not to extradite Nakash, his wife requests that the extradition be postponed until the matter of her personal status is resolved.

Both sides are to present their main arguments to the court by Sunday morning.

Nakash's extradition case will be heard by a five-judge High Court panel on Monday morning.

French official seeks visas for Soviet Jews

By MICHEL ZLOTOWSKY
Jerusalem Post Correspondent

PARIS. — France's minister for human rights, Claude Malhuret, plans to ask the Soviet Union publicly today to issue more emigration visas to Soviet Jews.

Speaking before his departure for Vienna to address the Security and Human Rights in Europe Conference, Malhuret told *The Jerusalem Post* that France had earlier asked the Soviet Union to automatically grant exit visas to Jews wishing to emigrate.

"We realize that we are getting nowhere," the French minister said, adding that he would renew the request that the Soviets make it

easier for its Jews to leave. He noted that France had implemented all its agreements with the USSR in the technological, economic and cultural fields, while the Soviets had failed to keep their part of the deal with regard to human rights.

"This cannot go on. My policy from now on will be to tell Moscow: 'No more pledges but acts in exchange for new contracts.' Those acts are easy to monitor — the number of emigration visas issued to Jews and the liberation of the jailed members of the Helsinki Watch Group," Malhuret said. "We will now see if Gorbachev's much publicized 'opening' is a reality or just a bluff."

Soviet cancer patient Bravre freed

VIENNA (AP). — Soviet cancer patient Rimma Bravre and her husband Vladimir arrived here yesterday for a reunion with Rimma's sister Larissa Shapiro and her husband. They were to depart today for the U.S. where Rimma will be treated.

On her arrival, Rimma, 32, was welcomed by U.S. Senator Alfonse D'Amato, who had long campaigned for the emigration of the woman.

Rimma said there were other cancer patients in the Soviet Union who

badly needed medical treatment and whose requests for exit visas had not been met.

She named them as Irma Meiman, Benjamin Charny and Leah Maryasin and said they should also be allowed to leave, and be reunited with their families in the U.S.

Dissident Soviet poet Irina Ratushinskaya arrived in London last night after being granted a three-month visa to travel to Britain for medical treatment. Ratushinskaya suffers from a heart condition.

Getty: Music is immortal

By BENJAMIN BAR-AM
and ELI KAREV

Millionaire Gordon Getty, 53, yesterday presented himself to the Israeli public as a composer with two scores from *Pump Jack*, his concert opera for tenor, baritone and orchestra, performed by the Jerusalem Symphony Orchestra in the Henry Crown Hall in the capital. The concert was broadcast on Israel Radio.

Getty has been quoted as saying that "businessmen will be forgotten but composers not." He proved himself an undeniable professional, a formidable orchestrator able to absorb the styles of romantic composers. Yesterday's performance of the second scene was a world premiere.

The two scenes, with text from Shakespeare's King Henry IV, were conducted by Gary Bertini, with Ian Calley singing tenor, and Gordon Sandison baritone.

Several international musical luminaries are in Jerusalem this weekend for a conference on orchestral experience sponsored by the Wheatland Foundation. The foundation's president is Anne Getty, Lord George Weidenfeld is its chairman.

The participants in the closed event include conductors Pierre Boulez, Zubin Mehta, Semyon Bychkov and Gary Bertini, pianist Alfred Brendel, violinist Isaac Stern, and composers Henri Dutilleul and Alexander Goehr.



Two Tel Aviv high-school pupils don gas masks as part of a countrywide civil defence exercise in schools yesterday. Air raid sirens were sounded at 10:30 a.m. and pupils from kindergarten through high school assembled in bomb shelters. Because of the increased threat of chemical warfare, the annual drill included gas masks for the first time. (Ippa)

'Bid to rebuild U.S. status in region'

Murphy may visit Mideast next month

By BENNY MORRIS

U.S. Assistant Secretary of State Richard Murphy is likely to return to the region at the end of next month in an effort to renew the stalled peace process, a highly placed source said in Jerusalem last night.

The source suggested that the White House and State Department might decide on the trip to demonstrate that the Iran arms scandal has not neutralized American diplomacy in the region.

The arms scandal has seriously undermined American standing and credibility in Amman and Cairo, said the source.

Sources in Jerusalem said that the timing of the Murphy visit was linked to the Islamic conference, scheduled

for late January.

It is understood in Jerusalem that Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak wants the effective suspension of the peace process to continue until the end of the conference, at which he hopes to restore Egypt's standing and position in the Arab world.

Possible joint Israeli-Egyptian peace moves before the conference could undermine Egypt's efforts to reassert itself in the Arab world.

The sources said yesterday that Jordan's King Hussein is "far from keen" on the idea of a "preparatory committee" for an "international conference," an idea launched by former prime minister Peres and Mubarak at their summit last September in Alexandria. Hussein

would rather go "straight into the international conference."

Jerusalem now also agrees that "if you can reach the international conference directly and without a preparatory committee, then why have the committee?"

The senior source yesterday noted that in recent weeks there has been less anti-Israel propaganda in the Egyptian press. He noted that contrary to previous custom, the Egyptian papers this month had noted the visits of Israeli ministers to Cairo and carried photographs of Communication Minister Rubinstein and Energy Minister Shahal meeting Mubarak.

Moreover, there has been no "anti-Semitic" propaganda recently, he said.

Rafi Suissa will not stand trial

By MENACHEM SHALEV
Jerusalem Post Reporter

Former Prisons Service Commissioner Rafi Suissa will not be brought to trial, Attorney-General Yosef Harish announced yesterday.

Both Harish and the High Court, however, sharply blasted Suissa's improprieties during his term as head of the Prisons Service; the court also criticized Police Minister Haim Bar-Lev's "unreasonable" handling of the affair.

In a statement issued last night, Harish said that Suissa will not be prosecuted because "some of the acts which served as the basis of the complaints do not show evidence of guilt." Other allegations, Harish said, "are not sufficiently substantiated as required by criminal law, and yet others belong in the realm of disciplinary offences."

Harish specifically referred to suspicions of false reports submitted by Suissa, which, he said, border on the criminal offence of "fraud and breach of trust by a public servant." But since the borderline between this and a disciplinary offence is unclear, and in light of the fact that Suissa resigned from his post, "there is no public interest in prosecution."

Yesterday's High Court decision ordering the reinstatement of the three Prisons Service officers who had originally complained against Suissa, reveals some of the incriminating findings of the police controller's report on Suissa.

Justice Moshe Bejski cited fraudulent and misleading reports, favoritism in the hiring of friends and relatives and flagrant violations in the granting of visiting rights and other privileges to prisoners.

The controller also found that Suissa had disobeyed ministerial instructions, evaded responsibility and used gossip to intimidate his subordinates.

Ruhama employees plead not guilty

KFAR SABA (Itim). — Eight employees of the Ruhama home for the retarded — two men and six women — pleaded not guilty in the magistrates court here yesterday to charges of assaulting and threatening inmates.

The accused are Mazal Ohana, Mariana Gantz, Eliza Suissa, Rael Biton, Ruth Dayan, Zakia Watad, Mahmoud Nasrat, and Ronald Marcus. Twelve employees were arrested last month on suspicion of abusing the inmates. Four were subsequently released and their police files were closed.

Judge Yehuda Farago accepted the request of the defence counsel that he visit the Ruhama home to meet the inmates and inspect the files of those involved in the case before holding the first hearing.

DAY CARE. — Wizo day-care centres will be closed all day today as workers continue to press for shorter hours and better working conditions.

Flu vaccine in short supply

By JUDY SIEGEL
Jerusalem Post Reporter

Hospital emergency rooms yesterday reported a considerable increase in the number of people requiring treatment for influenza. While most patients were sent home, the chronically ill and some of the elderly were hospitalized.

Headlines claiming that "hundreds" of people have "died from influenza" have sent people running to pharmacies to purchase the anti-flu vaccine. Those who really need the vaccine are having difficulty obtaining it because healthy young

people, who do not need it, have been buying up the serum.

The head of the pharmacists' association warned yesterday that supplies of the serum will run out unless new shipments arrive by next week. But Health Ministry officials promised that an adequate supply will be available by the beginning of next week.

Those who need to be vaccinated include the elderly and those who suffer from chronic conditions like emphysema, asthma, heart disease, diabetes and cancer.

Prisoner of Zion seriously ill

By SARAH HONIG

Post Political Correspondent

TEL AVIV. — Prisoner of Zion Roud (Alec) Zelichenok suffered what is thought to be a pre-stroke crisis in a Soviet prison camp last month. Magen David Adom has demanded that the International Red Cross look into his condition, since there is great fear for his life.

Zelichenok's wife, Galina, told activists at Jerusalem's Soviet Jewry Information and Education Centre yesterday that she had learned that her husband suffered an extremely severe hypertension crisis, accompanied by immobility and vomiting, on November 29. Doctors in the USSR and in Israel agree that the symptoms are those of a pre-stroke condition, she said. There are grounds for assuming that he has already suffered a stroke in prison.

Bus-stop torching 'against halacha'

The ultra-Orthodox rabbinical court of the Eda Haredit community yesterday ruled that the torching of bus shelters is against halacha. Their ruling came only hours after a shelter was torched in Jerusalem's Romema neighbourhood, the sixth shelter to

be burned down in the last fortnight.

The rabbis decreed that the bus shelters should not be vandalized because they are public property. But they also called for the removal of provocative ads from the shelters.

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FRANKFURT	4	29	7	Cloudy
GENEVA	3	27	7	Cloudy
HELSINKI	10	14	22	Snow
HONG KONG	18	24	28	Cloudy
JERUSALEM	11	22	18	Cloudy
LONDON	7	4	9	Cloudy
MADRID	9	23	13	Cloudy
MONTREAL	-4	-8	-1	Cloudy
NEW YORK	4	27	4	Cloudy
OSLO	-1	-3	1	Cloudy
PARIS	7	4	11	Cloudy
RIO DE JANEIRO	22	21	27	Cloudy
SAO PAULO	20	19	29	Cloudy
STOCKHOLM	-4	23	8	Cloudy
TOKYO	4	29	47	Cloudy
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VIENNA	-1	26	4	Cloudy
ZURICH	2	26	7	Cloudy

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SOCIAL & PERSONAL

Forecast: Thunderstorms, which are expected to let-up on Saturday.

	Yesterday's Humidity	Yesterday's Min-Max	Today's Min-Max
Jerusalem	94	8-11	8-9
Colan	78	10-15	14
Nahariya	75	10-15	14
Safed	99	6-8	6
Haifa Port	96	4-18	15
Tiberias	96	10-13	10
Nazareth	86	4-13	14
Afula	79	4-16	14
Shomron	90	6-13	11
Tel Aviv	91	11-19	17
B-G Airport	77	10-17	16
Jericho	76	8-19	18
Gaza	80	10-18	17
Beersheba	64	5-17	17
Eilat	27	8-21	20

SOCIAL & PERSONAL

President Chaim Herzog yesterday gave a lunch at Beit Hanassi for the crown prince of Tonga, His Royal Highness Tupoutoua, who is also the kingdom's foreign and defence minister. Herzog visited Tonga last month.

President Herzog and his wife Aura last night gave a dinner at Beit Hanassi in honour of Nobel Peace Prize laureate Elie Wiesel and his wife Marion. Among the guests were Prime Minister Shamir and Foreign Minister Peres and WZO chairman Arye Dulzin.

Energy Minister Moshe Shahal will address the Haifa Maritime and Economics Club at the Zion Hotel at 1 o'clock today. Table reservations by phone: 529618.

Shamir eulogizes Schechterman



TEL AVIV (Itim). — Herut Party veteran Avraham Shechterman was buried yesterday at the Kiryat Shaul cemetery. He died on Wednesday at the age of 76.

Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir, Housing Minister David Levy and Transport Minister Haim Corfu accompanied the cortege from the Tel Aviv Municipal Funeral Parlour.

Shamir eulogized Shechterman at the graveside, calling him one of the leaders of the first rank of Herut for more than 50 years.

He said that Shechterman, a persuasive man who had a smile for everyone, was able to unite the party because all factions had faith in him.

A member of the seventh and eighth Knessets, Shechterman held several posts in local government and was chairman of the Herut Central Committee.

Carmelit closes this evening

HAIFA. — The Carmelit subway is closing down indefinitely from this evening.

The Municipality announced that engineers have suggested a comprehensive technical examination of the 29-year-old, single-track, 1,850-metre-long subway, which connects central Carmel with the Hadar and downtown districts. As no local experts are available, foreign specialists will be contracted to do the job.

State Cup basketball
Quarter final results of the basketball State Cup:
Hapoel Galil Elyon 94, Hapoel Holon 76
Elzur Netanya 74, Hapoel Tel Aviv 72
Maccabi Tel Aviv 105, Beitar Tel Aviv 81
Maccabi Haifa 97, Hapoel Nazareth 86

We deeply mourn the passing of our beloved mother, grandmother, and great-grandmother

CHANA BEILA BERNHOLTZ ז"ל

The children in Israel: Shulamit and Zvi Guttman, Aleeza, Karmi and Gal Friman, Tali and Natan Guttman

Shiva, till Wednesday, December 24, at 22 Rehov Hashanayim, Givatayim.

On the first anniversary of the death of

JULIE NEUMANN ז"ל

there will be a graveside memorial service on Monday, December 22, 1988 (Kislev 20, 5747) at the Kiryat Shaul cemetery, at 2:00 p.m.

The Family

Our beloved

MURRAY GORDON WIDE

Architect

will find his last resting place on Sunday, December 21 at 2 p.m. at the Ramat Hasharon cemetery, Morasha Junction.

The Family

On the 30th day (shloshim) after the passing of our beloved husband, father and grandfather

ELIHU H. ROSENBERG ז"ל

we will hold a tombstone unveiling at the Har Hamenuhot cemetery, Jerusalem, on Monday, December 22, 1988 (20 Kislev 5747) at 1 p.m.

The wife, children and grandchildren

TEL AVIV UNIVERSITY deeply mourns the passing of

ALBERTO SMULEVICH

Buenos Aires, Argentina
Member of the Board of Governors and Vice Chairman of Friends of the University in Argentina, and extends its condolences to his wife

Betty and the Family.

To Francis Gonen
We share your grief on the loss of your brother

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Sir Tristan Antico, Chairman
Desmond Quirk, Director
John de C. Gray, Director
and previous Chief Executives of Pioneer Concrete (Israel) Ltd.
R.A. McCasker
I.A. Baker
P.W. Stancliffe
J.W. Leevors

Pioneer Concrete (Israel) Ltd.

Join in the sorrow and extend condolences to the family on the passing of

ABRAHAM (Abrasha) SCHECHTERMAN ז"ל

Member of the Board of Directors

Board of Directors Management and Staff

The City of Tel Aviv-Yafo mourns the death of

AVRAHAM SHECHTERMAN ז"ל

former Knesset Member, Deputy Mayor of Tel Aviv-Yafo and Council Member, the man who initiated the establishment of and headed the Old Jaffa Development Company, an individual whose energies and perseverance contributed greatly to the city.

Shlomo Lahat Mayor

THE WEIZMANN INSTITUTE OF SCIENCE expresses its condolences to

LORD SIEFF OF BRIMPTON

Institute Chancellor and Board Chairman on the passing of his brother-in-law

AVRAHAM SCHECHTERMAN

and expresses its sympathy to the Schechterman family.

cial seeks
viet Jews

Nicaragua pardons American gun-runner as holiday gesture

MANAGUA (Reuters). — Convicted U.S. gun-runner Eugene Hasenfus left for home on Wednesday night a free man after the Nicaraguan government pardoned him as a Christmas gesture to the American people.

"Today has been a day of great surprise, a day that I will surely remember in my heart forever," said Hasenfus, who last month was sentenced to 30 years in prison for flying weapons to rebels seeking to overthrow the Sandinista government.

"Thank you, President Ortega, thank you to the people of Nicaragua," he told a press conference.

President Daniel Ortega handed the American over to U.S. Senator Christopher Dodd, saying: "This is a Christmas message and a New Year message to the American people on the part of the people of Nicaragua."

"We trust and hope that this gesture of peace... will contribute to achieving peace," he said.

Dodd later left with Hasenfus and his wife, Sally, on a private jet for Guatemala City, where the Hasenfuses stayed overnight before flying

to Miami yesterday. Before leaving, Dodd, a Democrat on a tour of Central America, met with Sam Hall, another American held in Managua on spying charges. The Senator said Hall was in good health and good spirits.

Dodd, a member of the Senate Foreign Affairs Committee who has been critical of the Reagan Administration's backing of the Contras, is expected to become chairman of the Western Hemisphere Affairs Sub-Committee when Congress convenes in January.

The White House said it was glad Hasenfus had been released and will be able to spend Christmas with his family. But the State Department, while saying it was pleased, added that the incident had been orchestrated for maximum propaganda effect.

Hasenfus, a 45-year-old Vietnam veteran, had served just over a month of a 30-year sentence handed down for terrorism and other crimes.

He was captured on October 6 after his plane was shot down over southern Nicaragua while on an

arms drop to U.S.-backed rebels. Hasenfus, who looked happy but slightly bewildered by the speed of the developments, declined comment when asked if he felt any remorse about his actions.

At an earlier news conference, President Ortega reminded Nicaraguans that the war was still going on. "We've got thousands of children who have been orphaned on account of the war, children who have been murdered, women murdered, elderly folk murdered, workers that have been murdered on account of the war," he said.

"With this gesture we call on Mr. Reagan's conscience to reflect on the present course he is following," Ortega said.

Hasenfus's capture and trial had presented a propaganda coup for the Sandinistas, revealing a covert network supplying arms to the rebels, known as Contras. Hasenfus said he believed the network was directed by the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) out of El Salvador, a staunch U.S. ally in Central America.

Britain to aid Jordan plan for W. Bank

Jerusalem Post Staff and agencies. Britain yesterday became the second foreign country to pledge aid to Jordan's \$1 billion West Bank and Gaza Strip development plan, with a £2.5 million contribution.

Meanwhile, sources told The Jerusalem Post that the U.S. is planning to increase its second-year allocation to the Jordanian plan from \$5.5m. to about \$7.5m.

A British embassy news release issued in Amman said that Britain would channel £2.5 million (about \$3.6 million) through Jordan to West Bank projects through 1990. Another £2.5 million is to go to private organizations on the West Bank.

Jordan has promised to contribute 10 million dinars (\$29 million) annually to the plan from its own coffers.

Most countries assist West Bank Palestinians through independent aid organizations based in the area — in part because they never recognized Jordan's claim to the area it annexed in 1950 and lost to Israel in 1967.

Britain did not have that problem. It and Pakistan were the only countries to recognize the Jordanian annexation of the West Bank. (Related story, page 18)

THE CITIZEN HORSE VACCINE IS FLOWN IN TODAY



A week after South Africa imposed censorship on news of racial conflict, the main news in yesterday's The Citizen of Johannesburg concerns equine flu. All the media have been dominated by reports of this mysterious influenza strain which has created havoc in stables and threatens the Christmas horseracing programme. A few snippets about black unrest still filter through the censorship system, but readers have to search hard to find them. (Reuters telephoto)

IN BRIEF

Unicef woman worker killed in Beirut

BEIRUT (Reuters). — A Lebanese woman working for the UN Children's Fund (Unicef) was shot dead in Moslem West Beirut yesterday, police said. The police said three gunmen in a blue Volkswagen car opened fire on Nabila Nadim Silba, 44, killing her instantly.

Pardoned after being hanged 30 seconds

TEHERAN (Reuters). — A convicted murderer escaped the gallows after hanging for 30 seconds when he was pardoned by the father of his victim, the newspaper Kayhan reported yesterday. The man is to be freed after recovering in hospital in the western city of Zanjan.

Under Iranian interpretation of Islamic law, close relatives of a murder victim have the right to demand execution of the murderer, payment of "blood money," or to forgive the person.

Athens police clash with garbage strikers

ATHENS (REUTERS). — About 400 riot police and striking garbage collectors clashed for the second day running at a rubbish dump on the outskirts of Athens yesterday as the strike entered its 12th day.

Witnesses said seven strikers were injured and 17 arrested in yesterday's clash in which 200 strikers were involved.

Norwegian woman off on South Pole march

OSLO (Reuters). — Norwegian scientist and explorer Monica Kristensen set out yesterday in a bid to become the first woman to walk to the South Pole amid fears her expedition may be dangerously behind schedule.

Kristensen, 36, told the Oslo daily Verdens Gang that heavy fog had prevented a small airplane from dropping supplies at pre-arranged depots along the four-member expedition's 1,350km. path. This and other minor problems have delayed their departure by nearly a month.

Syrian to man Soviet space flight

MOSCOW (Reuters). — Syrian astronaut Mohammed Faris is to take part in the first Syrian-Soviet space flight next July, Soviet space officials said yesterday.

Valery Ryumin, head of the mission, told a news conference that Faris, 35, would be part of a three-man team which would carry out medical research, and study the earth's atmosphere and natural resources from July 22 to 31.

Volcano erupts again

TOKYO (AP). — The Mt. Mihara volcano whose eruption last month caused the evacuation of all 11,000 residents of an island off Tokyo exploded again yesterday just as residents were preparing to return for the New Year's holiday. Officials said the return would proceed as planned.

Countdown to Hanukkah. Only 8 days to go. Send your contribution NOW!



UK to buy the Awacs

LONDON (AP). — The government announced yesterday it will buy the U.S. Boeing company's airborne early warning radar system, ditching a rival British system that has cost taxpayers £660 million.

"This is a sad decision to have to take but I have no doubt it is the right one," Defence Secretary George Younger told the House of Commons in announcing the choice of the Airborne Warning and Control System (Awacs).

The decision meant the immediate cancellation of the Nimrod system, which Britain's General Electric Co. (GEC) has been developing since 1977. Younger said tests have shown the Nimrod did not meet RAF requirements.

Opposition Labour Party legislators jeered and many governing Conservative Party lawmakers sat in grim disapproval.

Younger said that, including the cost of ending the contract with GEC, the Boeing deal will cost £860m. (£1.23b.). — £200m. more than it would have cost to complete 11 Nimrod aircraft.

Younger said Britain would be "well served" by six Boeing Awacs.

New MiG-29 radar system could be problem for IAF

By WLADIMIR STRUMINSKI, Jerusalem Post Correspondent. BONN. — The new Soviet radar system installed in MiG-29 jet fighters may pose a problem to the Israeli Air Force, if the newly-equipped planes are supplied to Syria, sources in Bonn told The Jerusalem Post.

But although there have been reports on Soviet plans to deliver these fighters to Syria, the West still has no information that such deliveries have taken place, the sources said. They added, however, that it was unlikely that the planes would be delivered to Syria without the new radar system.

The sources confirmed reports that the new radar system had been developed with the help of original American construction plans for the U.S. radar system AOG-65, produced for American F-18 fighter jets. Soviet intelligence had apparently got hold of the plans at the U.S. Hughes company plant.

The sources in Bonn pointed out

that the Soviets probably obtained only hardware plans, and not the vital operational software.

The Soviet radar is presumed to be less effective than its American counterpart, but it still spells a qualitative breakthrough for the Soviet air force. It enables the MiG-29 fighters to locate and fight targets flying lower than the Soviet planes, such as an adversary's planes or missiles. It is not known how effective the Soviet system is at counter-acting short-range missiles.

The Soviet Union has supplied also Iraq with the MiG-29 fighter, which has been used in the Gulf war. But production figures — 50 a month — do not necessarily indicate a major Soviet export effort, sources in Bonn told The Post. The sources said that according to Western information, the Soviet Union supplied the planes to Iraq during the summer. The sources also pointed out that the Soviets have decided to let India have 40 MiG-29s.

Kazakhs riot after party leader sacked

MOSCOW (AP). — Students rioted yesterday and Wednesday in the capital of Kazakhstan to protest against the removal of the Central Asian Republic's Communist Party chief, the official news agency Tass said in an unprecedented report.

"A group of students, incited by nationalist elements, last evening and today took to the streets of Alma Ata expressing disapproval of the decisions of the recent plenary meeting," Tass said.

The report apparently referred to the Kazakhstan Party's ouster on Tuesday of Dinmukhammed Kunaev, a member of the ruling politburo who had been party leader in the republic for more than 20 years.

"Hooligans, parasites and other anti-social persons made use of this situation and resorted to unlawful actions against representatives of law and order," Tass said. "They set fire to a food store, to private cars and insulted townspeople."

The republic's party central committee named Gennady Kolbin, an ethnic Russian, to replace Kunaev, a Kazakh.

The national central committee is expected next week to remove Kunaev from his national post on the politburo.

Soviet media reports on rioting are rare, but Gorbachev has introduced a policy of publicity.

West Berlin court jails 3 neo-Nazis

BERLIN (AP). — A West Berlin court on Wednesday sentenced three members of a banned neo-Nazi party, which proposed the rebuilding of the German Reich, to prison sentences ranging from six to 18 months.

The three, aged 24, 46 and 47, were found guilty of founding the West Berlin chapter of the neo-Nazi party known as Action Front National Socialists-National Frontists in 1983.

The party was founded in 1977 by Michael Kuehnen, who was later convicted of neo-Nazi activity and sentenced to prison while his party was banned by authorities.

Officials say Kuehnen's party adopted many programmes endorsed by the Nazis.

Anti-drug editor slain in Bogota

BOGOTA (AP). — Two motorcycleists fatally shot Colombian journalist Guillermo Cano on Wednesday night in Bogota, officials said.

Cano, 61, was editor and part-owner of the daily newspaper El Espectador. He was driving his car at the time of the shooting in the nation's capital city and crashed into a wall, witnesses said.

He died 20 minutes later at a hospital from multiple wounds to his upper body, police said.

Cano had published reports accusing drug traffickers of harming the country by dealing in narcotics.

He was alone in his car and had just left the newspaper when two men on a motorcycle pulled alongside and fired a barrage of shots, the police quoted witnesses as saying.

First triple transplant patient 'stable'

LONDON (Reuters). — The world's first triple transplant patient, 35-year-old Davina Thompson, was still unconscious last night but recovering from the operation which gave her a new heart, lungs and liver, the hospital spokesman said.

"Mrs. Thompson had a satisfactory night. Her condition is stable but reasonably good. She is still on a ventilator and remains unconscious," the spokesman said.

Thompson became the world's first triple-organ transplant patient on Wednesday when she was operated on for more than seven hours by

a 15-member team led by four surgeons, at Papworth Hospital in Cambridge.

The spokesman said doctors were not concerned that she had not yet recovered consciousness as this had been expected.

Her husband Steve, a miner, was keeping vigil outside the sealed recovery room at the hospital.

The operation is the latest development in organ replacements since heart transplants were pioneered two decades ago. But the hospital spokesman has said it is

unlikely many such transplants will be carried out.

"The medical conditions that necessitated this operation are rare and it could be several years before a similar transplant is necessary," he said.

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Knesset debate of the week

The 'lost souls' of Aloni's marriages

The spectre of Jewish bastardy (*mamzer*) stalked the Knesset this week. Confronting it up, Agudat Yisrael's Menahem Porush presented it as the fruit of the sin committed by Citizens Rights Movement MK and lawyer Shulamit Aloni, who has for some years been offering a form of marriage by civil contract.

Porush's argument was two-pronged: Aloni, he said, had had the "brazen nerve" to undermine that most sacred of Jewish institutions, the sanctity of marriage. Ignoring his own, oft-repeated castigation of the secular majority of Israeli households as afflicted by wife-beating, drugs and other immorality, Porush, for the sake of his debate, declared: "The life of the Israeli family is a life of sanctification." Aloni was leading her clients into giving birth to bastards (who are not illegitimate in the sense of the English word, but are, in Jewish law, the offspring of a union between two people who cannot be married according to Halacha). They and the State of Israel would become "wretched" because of her, he said.

Aloni was also breaking the civil law of the land which laid down that marriages of Jews here be conducted only in accordance with the Rabbinical Courts Law of 1953, i.e. in a religious ceremony according to Halacha.

The 1953 law talks about *kiddushin* (sanctification), the statement made by the bridegroom to the bride: "Behold you are sanctified unto me according to the religion of Moses and Israel." It is the act of marrying two persons by *kiddushin* that is entrusted to the rabbis alone, under the law.

Aloni insisted - and repeated to *The Jerusalem Post* - that the numerous High Court rulings adduced by ultra-Orthodox speakers in the debate proved nothing that relates to her civil contracts which, in turn, have nothing to do with religion. They are marriage contracts (the word used in the declaration signed by the parties to her agreement is the Hebrew

term *amuna* - usually translated as "convention").

What the High Court has ruled on a number of occasions applies to purported religious marriage ceremonies (involving *kiddushin*) conducted by persons not licensed by the rabbinical courts to perform *kiddushin*.

The problem is that, for Porush, marriage is a religious act. For Aloni, it is a civil agreement.

"You are a criminal," Porush told Aloni from the podium.

"You should serve three years in jail - as the law specifies - and not another two as Knesset member."

"Divest yourself of your parliamentary immunity. Face the courts," Porush challenged Aloni.

(Aloni told *The Post* this week that her contracts have never been attacked in the courts. The Israel Bar has discussed the contracts and has found no professional reason for acting against her.)

"Who knows how many lost souls [of bastards, *mamzerim*, created by Aloni] are wandering around, crying out, because they have no rest, either in this world or the next. The crime is enormous, the sin too grave to bear. Stop playing with fire," Porush appealed.

"No crime has been committed," Aloni said firmly.

"Judaism and society recognize the institution of common law marriage," she said.

It was the failure of the rabbinical courts that was producing *mamzerim*, according to Aloni. What was a woman to do if she and her husband had been divorced in a civil court abroad and the woman then had a child by another man whom she could not marry here because her husband refused her a *get* (religious divorce)? Her child was a *mamzer*, a bastard in Jewish law. That was what rigid observance of Halacha had achieved.

For Aloni there is no such concept as a

mamzer, a child barred from association with the rest of the Jewish people because of "parental sin." All men - and women - were born equal, she said.

Common law marriage was at present the only solution for Israeli Jews barred by Halacha from marrying. Israel, Aloni insisted, must have a system of civil marriage alongside the religious system (an opinion, she noted, that was shared by Prof. Yeshayahu Leibowitz, who is Orthodox). The secular population was sick and tired of being ruled by religious law and wanted total separation from the religious establishment.

Her system of contracts was, she admitted, not ideal, because the partners could not be recognized as married by the population registry, and that was not always good for the children of such a marriage.

But nevertheless many Israeli Jews did not want a religious marriage ceremony. They believed in equality of the sexes and could not accept a woman being the property of her husband. Nor did they want to submit themselves to religious law.

The law of contracts placed no obstacle in the way of two adult, unmarried people who wished to live together and establish a family, and wished, furthermore, to put their hands to a document that laid down the terms of their association and their mutual rights and obligations. That is what her contract did.

The lines between secular and religious were clearly drawn in the debate. But what was perhaps also evident were the exigencies of political alliances (in a national unity coalition that binds the ultra-Orthodox Shas and Agudat Yisrael and the National Religious Party to Labour and the Likud), and the constraints felt in both the large secular parties lest any offence to the Orthodox cost them dearly in their wooing of the religious vote. Those chosen to speak avoided any such offence.

Thus, Labour's speakers were Rabbi

By Dvora Getzler

Gazan leader urges PLO to abandon armed struggle now

By ELAINE RUTH FLETCHER

A prominent Gaza leader yesterday called on the PLO to immediately adopt a negotiating policy that recognizes Israel and puts an end to the "armed struggle" against it.

Such a dramatic move would force an Israeli establishment that is becoming dangerously comfortable with the status quo "towards the way of peace," said Dr. Hatem Abu Ghazala, speaking in Jerusalem at the annual meeting of the International Centre for Peace in the Middle East.

Ghazala's comments came in the wake of unusually critical remarks about PLO chairman Yasser Arafat by *Al-Fajr's* editor, Hanna Simora. Simora, speaking on Wednesday, rapped Arafat and Arab and Israeli leaders for being overly cautious and unable to break out of the present negotiating impasse.

"The leaders today are not men of vision - not Hussein, nor Arafat, nor Pines, nor Shamir," Simora told the conference.

Simora said he would be ready to accept even a "demilitarized" Palestinian state in order to allay Israel's security fears.

The two calls for new Palestinian approaches to peace seem to spring from a deep-seated fear that Israelis are becoming increasingly complacent about the system of law and land ownership in the territories.

The state of affairs that is now becoming accepted, said Ghazala, rests on "two superimposed maps" which divide the territories into

Israeli districts and Arab ones.

"The law applied to you depends on your origins. If you are a Jew, it is Israeli law; if you are an Arab, you are subject to the laws of the military government."

Ghazala suggested that a new and dramatic Palestinian policy would embarrass Israeli leaders who really don't want to make territorial compromises, despite their claims that they are seeking peace. And, Ghazala said, it would open the door to a PLO-American dialogue that would make the PLO "less dependent on others."

"Even the most hawkish [Israelis] would have to take note," Ghazala said. "Who can face the wives and others of Israeli children and refuse a political process that may mean the saving of lives?"

New calls for peace moves by moderate Palestinians and Israelis would be vetoed by hardliners on both sides, U.S. Rabbi Arthur Hertzberg told the conference.

Speaking Wednesday before an audience that included U.S. Ambassador Thomas Pickering and the U.S. consul-general in Jerusalem, Morris Draper, Hertzberg also lashed out at Israeli and U.S. leaders.

"The cowboys of Washington and Jerusalem are making Gorbachev look very reasonable," Hertzberg said. "Reagan with all his talk [about budget cuts] has doubled the national debt. The Israeli leadership talked about 'Peace for Galilee,' and think how much that cost us," said Hertzberg.

It's a pretty big deal when a prime minister comes to town.

The city inspectors get new caps and, if the town is wealthy enough, new uniforms, and for a day they wear small brass badges with their names, carry walkie-talkies and wield a temporary authority that seems to encourage silly and foolish decisions about who to admit to the public ceremonies.

Flags are unfurled, public gardens are weeded, a public project nearing completion is quickly finished so that the prime minister can dedicate it, and the city fathers - City Hall department heads and city councilors - are invited to lunch with the prime minister at the fanciest hotel or restaurant in the area.

High school pupils prepare questions - in advance, for the prime minister's aides to vet - and smaller children are lined up along the street to wave flags and shout hellos to the country's top politician.

The local newspapers, weeklies that began as advertising sheets and usually report on long-empty lots filled with garbage, send reporters who ask questions about foreign affairs they know little about.

For the prime minister's men, it's a chance to make the prime minister accessible to the public, which means a bit of flesh pressing and a lot of media coverage of the flesh pressing. For the local mayor it means a chance to get some local issues on the national agenda, and the best way to do that is to get his name and his town's name into the newspapers.

Such a media event, Israel's style, hit Herzliya this week.

The premier was to be in town from noon until 7 p.m., and was supposed to do the following: see the new entrance to town and a park

Premier on parade

named after Moshe Dayan, visit the Yad LeChaim memorial hall, where he'd be greeted by a few hundred little kids dressed in blue and white and waving flags and screaming, "Take my picture, take my picture!" meet with high schoolers; go to the local firing range before being driven to the most opulent hotel in the city and a new office building, where he'd meet industrialists; proceed to City Hall, for a reception granting him honorary citizenship; and finally participate in the dedication ceremony of the town's new downtown pedestrian mall.

Tel Aviv Tel Aviv
Robert Rosenberg

He would not see the factories, schools, slums, fashionable neighbourhoods or empty winter beaches of Herzliya, except through the windows of his car or the hotel room where he took an hour's nap.

There were two ways to describe it.

"Hardline Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir, the flinty former commander of the Lehi underground and ex-Mossad agent, proves he hasn't forgotten his past as he takes aim

with a brand new Uzi at the Herzliya firing range. A beaming Herzliya mayor Eli Landau looks on."

Or, "Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir, displaying little enthusiasm and not much self-confidence, gingerly grips a new Uzi as he poses for photographers. As he hesitatingly fires, every one of the 32 bullets misses the target 25 metres away. Herzliya Mayor Eli Landau blasts away with accuracy and obvious enjoyment."

According to the prime minister, the last time he fired a weapon was "a long time ago. In the '50s. In *milutin* (reserve duty)."

Shamir, of course, is not loquacious when it comes to his past.

He doesn't talk about his feelings, not even the feelings he must have had when he was presented with what was described as the first ammunition clip made in the underground for the Sten guns that the Lehi used.

He says "Thank you, thank you," and passes to an aide the polished box with the ammunition clip on a velvet bed.

It's said in Herzliya that the town used to have a lovable, incompetent mayor and that now it has an unlovable competent mayor.

Landau, overweight and overbearing, is vulgar, brash, arrogant and charismatic. Most of all, he gets things done.

Herzliya has been transformed in the three years since he's been in charge. When he took office, banks were bouncing City Hall cheques. Nowadays, Herzliya is in the black.

When an impromptu press conference with Shamir starts to delay the tour, Landau bursts in, demanding that the press conference be ended.

"The prime minister's here to see Herzliya, not to give press conferences," the mayor shouts. Shamir doesn't understand what all the fuss is about.

He waits patiently while one of his aides calms down the mayor, and then the interviewer continues with his questions, about the economy, the Histadrut, the Labour Party's objections to the economic plan.

Later, a Shamir aide will whisper, quickly adding a "Don't quote me," that "Eli wouldn't have interrupted Anik Sharon that way."

The perhaps unique Israeli phenomenon of prime ministers declaring state policy in response to questions asked by high school pupils, goes without a hitch. The session takes place at the local Yad LeChaim, a memorial hall and museum dedicated to the memory of Herzliya's war dead.

Shamir, who opposed the Camp David agreement, says it's the only way to make peace. He says the government will preserve law and order in the territories. He says that Israel will not be harmed by the Iran arms affair. He says that arms sales are "the way of the world." There's not much news in any of it.

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Critical of 'ineffective' demonstrations on behalf of refuseniks

Wiesel to present Gorbachev with list of prisoners

By ARYE RUBINSTEIN, ERNIE MEYER, and JUDY SIEGEL

Jerusalem Post Reporters
Nobel Peace Prize laureate Elie Wiesel is to present Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev with a list of Prisoners of Zion when the two meet in a fortnight, Wiesel told the Jewish Agency board of governors yesterday.

Referring to the Vienna dropouts, Soviet Jewish emigrants who chose not to settle in Israel, Wiesel called it "a scandal" that people who were Jews in the USSR "cease to be Jews after they arrive in New York."

Wiesel was critical of the frequent demonstrations on behalf of Soviet refuseniks. "The number of demonstrators is generally exaggerated and the demonstrations are forgotten by the next day," he said.

Thought should be given to more effective ways of helping their struggle, he said. For example, he suggested, the wives of world leaders could meet with the mothers of the Prisoners of Zion. Or a gigantic concert could be organized, he said, like those held to raise funds for the starving in Africa and the farmers in the U.S.

In the morning Wiesel told nine mothers whose sons and daughters in the Soviet Union had been refused exit visas that on his visit to Moscow he would describe their plight to Gorbachev. "I'll put your fears into words," he said.

Wiesel and his wife Marion sat in respectful and sympathetic silence in the lobby of the Mishkenot Sha'ananim VIP residence as the mothers, holding blown-up photos of their children, poured out their hearts. There were stories in halting Hebrew or in Russian of separations lasting as long as 15 years.

The meeting had been arranged by the Israel Public Council for Soviet Jewry and the nine women represented the 200 or so who belong to the group called Mothers of Freedom. They range in age from mid-50s to 70-plus. Death has already overtaken 15 of them. "We want to spend our remaining years with our children and grandchildren," one of them said. "What use is



Elie Wiesel (right) stands next to Education Minister Yitzhak Navon at Yad Vashem yesterday, in front of a photo of inmates at Buchenwald. Wiesel himself appears in the lower right corner of the photo. (Ronit Ne'eman)

my life to me without my son?" asked another.

Wiesel told the mothers that the title of his book about the Russian refuseniks, *The Jews of Silence*, had been misunderstood. The "silent" Jews were those in the Diaspora, not those in Russia, he said.

Wiesel said that since 1965 the plight of the Russian Jews has been his most obsessive concern. "You are more important to me than the Nobel Prize," he said.

Speaking yesterday afternoon at Yad Vashem, Wiesel said that in view of Kurt Waldheim's "Nazi past," the Austrian president should resign. Noting that the presidency was a position that required "moral character," Wiesel said that Waldheim's incumbency was "a stain on Austria."

Wiesel was speaking at a session in his honour of the International Council of Yad Vashem, of which he is the vice-chairman. He said that more and more people are denying that the Holocaust ever took place. "I don't know where they get their millions of dollars from. They have funds to disseminate their poisonous writings all over the world."

Wiesel said that after the award ceremony in Oslo 10 days ago, a Finnish journalist told him a story saying that Wiesel had never been in a concentration camp and had spent

the war years in the U.S.

"There are only a few of us survivors, and by the year 2000 how many will be left to contradict the falsifiers of history?" he asked. "Ours is a critical time."

At a dinner in Wiesel's honour on Wednesday night, Norway's ambassador to Israel, Torleiv Anda, revealed that he had been incarcerated in a barracks next to Wiesel's in Buchenwald, over 40 years ago.

Anda later told *The Jerusalem Post* that he had been one of some 200 Norwegian students taken prisoner by the Nazis in 1943 and incarcerated in Buchenwald. He would not specify the "crime" for which the non-Jewish Scandinavians had been imprisoned; presumably, they were involved in the resistance. Shortly before the end of World War II, following the intervention of Count Bernadotte and the Red Cross, the students were released from the camp.

Wiesel responded with a revelation of his own: The Norwegian students had saved his life and those of the other teenage Jews in his barracks. Over the camp radio the youngsters had been ordered to attend an "assembly," where they were to have been murdered. The Norwegians warned the Jews not to go.

"Thank you for saving my life," Wiesel told a visibly moved ambassador.

Wiesel and his wife were being honoured at a dinner organized by Shvut Ami, the Jerusalem-based group that cares for the "spiritual absorption" of Soviet Jewish immigrants who know nothing about Judaism or have only negative views about the religion. The group was founded by former Prisoner of Zion Rabbi Shimon Griliches, who came up with the idea 15 years ago when he was locked up in Siberia.

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Sarah Honig points to factors beyond economics which may determine the fate of the Finance Minister's programme

Profits and losses in the political jungle

THE ECONOMIC PLAN

IN EVERYTHING there is a political bottom line, and at some point there will be one for the politicians involved with the new economic programme. What will appear on that line depends not only on whether the plan succeeds in the long run, but also if, when and in what form it finally gets adopted.

Besides all the potential pitfalls and profit it could mean for the average taxpayer and wage-earner, the programme will also bring losses and gains for those politicians who either espouse or oppose it.

Formally speaking, we are not dealing with a new programme, but with the second phase of the rehabilitation scheme introduced in 1985. Political observers in both large parties consider that this second phase is off to a far less favourable start than its predecessor.

Some argue that this is partly because the Likud's Yitzhak Shamir is prime minister. The last time around, the premier was Labour's man, even if the finance minister was from the Likud. Now that both the prime minister and his finance minister are from the Likud, the Histadrut may be less prepared to cooperate or more difficult to control.

Whether one accepts that argument or not, there is no doubt that the career most clearly on the line here is Shamir's. He has everything to lose if the programme does not do well, whether in its pre-natal state or later. Shamir will pay heavily in hard political currency even if all that happens is that the programme is not adopted smoothly and reasonably quickly. If some watered-down version which bears little resemblance to the original is finally adopted after a great deal of partisan acrimony and innuendo, Shamir will not come out of it well.

This is all too clearly understood by his political adversaries both within his own camp and in the rival party. This gives his foes a powerful weapon, though admittedly

not without risk of its backfiring.

That is not to say that Shamir or anyone in his entourage expects the programme to be passed unaltered. No doubt its authors were careful to pack it with all sorts of dispensable ballast, which they could, at the height of negotiations conveniently drop, claiming to have evinced good-will, flexibility and a spirit of compromise. The question is whether whatever modifications are certain to be made in the programme are to be more than cosmetic.

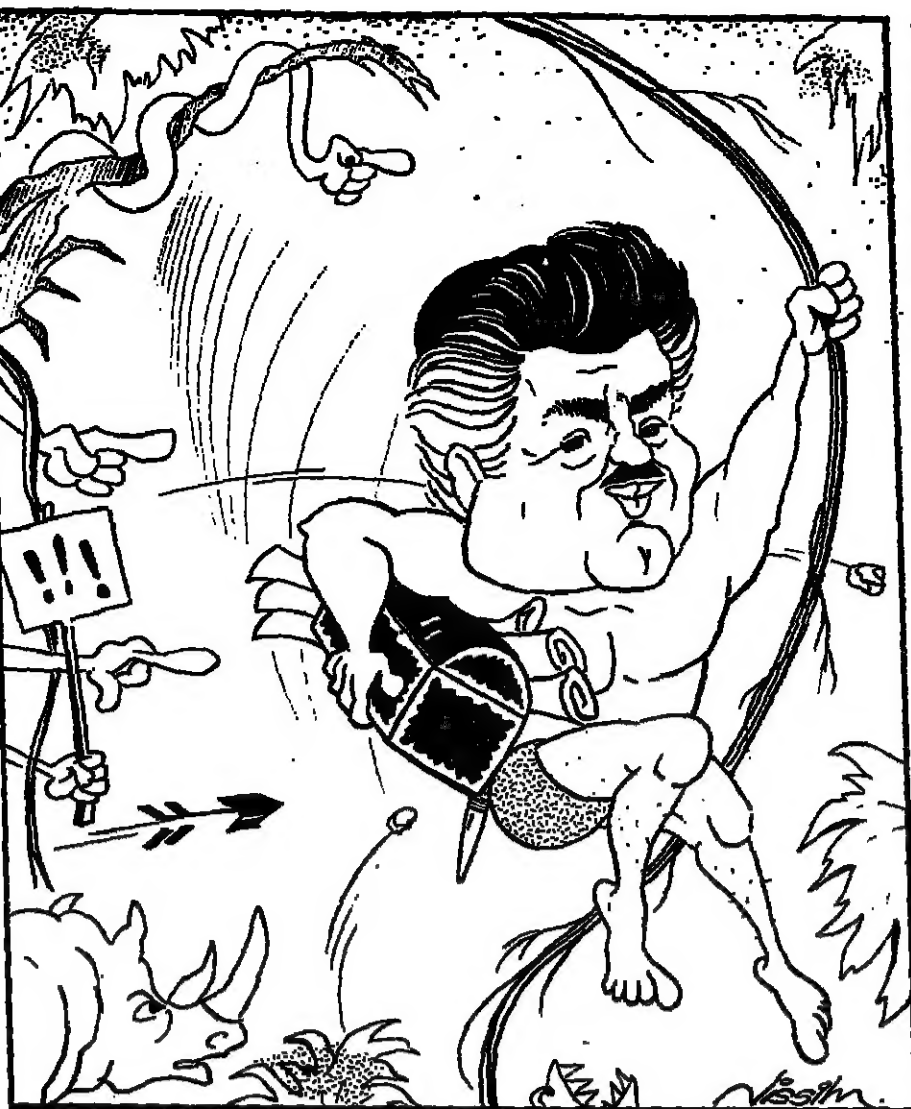
SHAMIR'S WHOLE leadership position is in the balance. Given the Likud's far from bright record of managing the economy, it is now up to him to demonstrate that his bloc can after all run the economy, and that the apparent improvement under Peres was not just due to Labour's competence and know-how, as that party claims.

In other words, Shamir will have to prove that he is a leader. That will be no mean feat, especially as it is far from clear whether the first phase of economic recovery really succeeded or merely swept the economic dirt under the rug.

If Shamir appears to fail, even at this initial test for the proposed programme, a leadership crisis will result. Shamir cannot overlook the fact that Peres was seen as giving backing to his Likud finance minister, Yitzhak Moda'i. He cannot afford to appear less successful in securing political support for his finance minister, Moshe Nissim.

Even though the situation is not identical (Shamir is in no position to call the Histadrut to order as Peres was) since appearances are generally what count most in politics, Shamir must appear to be as effective as Peres.

Sources close to Shamir explain that to him, the economic issue is especially important. He wants economic achievement as the centre-piece of his administration, in



the hope that the diplomatic front will not be too troublesome. Shamir is gambling his whole purse here.

IN THE INTERNAL Herut constellation, Deputy Premier David Levy should welcome Shamir's downfall. But this is true only up to a point. Levy would not gain much if the entire Likud were to emerge badly bruised. In Herut, too, Levy would be judged as a traitor according to the unwritten party code which prevents him from attacking Shamir while Shamir is under heavy Labour fire.

Levy claims to be convinced that the programme is detrimental to Likud interests. He considers it "insane" for his party to hurt the blue-collar voters who form its power base, while benefiting the well-to-do who anyway support Labour.

Levy's opposition appears more serious than it did in phase one, when Labour and some Likud support made his position irrelevant in real terms. But in the Likud, there is confidence that Levy is only engaged in "histrionics" and that he will be mollified through compromise on some of the programme's ballast.

THE NEXT MAN on the list of those most affected by the programme is Nissim. Unlike Shamir, he has most to gain but not

most to lose. Personally, he is a very far cry from his volatile predecessor, Yitzhak Moda'i. He does not have the image of a political strongman, which ostensibly at least is a prerequisite for such a critical time. Those who know him advise that we not be fooled by his mild demeanour. They bet that this non-conformist, who voted against the first phase of the economic rehabilitation plan, will push through the second phase against all the odds.

If he does so, Nissim will hit a bigger political jackpot than any protagonist in the story. Success will catapult him to a number one position in his Liberal Party, and to a number two position in the Likud. The man who was popular in his strife-torn party because he was considered harmless will leave all other contenders for the Liberal leadership behind.

Nissim's success will be one more nail in Moda'i's political coffin. Having lost his position of influence, it might also be demonstrated that economic miracles can be wrought without Moda'i.

Success will earn Nissim Shamir's confidence, and Shamir is known to like working with easy-to-get-along-with, predictable and untemperamental Nissim. Nissim is said to be the same face of the Liberal Party and Shamir would love him as the Likud's number two man - that is, if Nissim can

deliver the goods.

If he fails, he will have less to pay than Shamir. Ostensibly, Nissim never had any great ambition, so the worst that can happen to him would be that he will not get ahead and will fulfil the very modest expectations aroused by his low-key image. If he gets anywhere, it will be by sheer tenacity. He cannot count on a Labour premier to deliver Histadrut support, as Moda'i could.

IN BOTH large parties there are whispers of chemistry between Nissim and Labour's Histadrut Secretary-General Yisrael Kessar. They get along well, despite their antagonistic roles. An understanding between them at some point along the way is not out of the question.

Pundits in fact see each of them as his party's economic leader. Each party can thus show a popular "non-Ashkenazi" face to the public. Neither is a professional economist with an incoherent lexicon. Both are folksy and confidence-inspiring.

Like Nissim in the Likud, so Kessar in Labour has potentially a lot of political fruits to pick. But in his case he is likely to do well no matter how the economic programme fares. Kessar, it is said in Labour, is already his party's chief economic spokesman, despite the pretensions of lack-lustre Gad Ya'acobi and Adi Amora'i.

If the economic programme gets underway and makes reasonable progress, Kessar will easily share the credit. He will be strengthened in Labour as Nissim will in the Likud. Even a compromise for appearances' sake will enable Kessar and Nissim each to claim some victories, and will leave them politically smiling.

And if the birth of the economic programme is delayed by major political complications, Kessar will not doubt benefit from that as well. He will be cast in the role of the battling champion of the working man, and he will also be the top Labourite able to adopt the most fighting rhetoric, being unfettered by a national unity government portfolio.

Kessar's one problem is that he wears so many hats. He is not only a labour leader; he is also chief of the country's biggest financial-industrial conglomerate. Kessar has to worry about the well-being of the numerous Hevrat Ha'Ovdim enterprises, especially in view of the failures shaking the Histadrut sector; the need for cash in the kibbutzim and moshavim; the dire straits of Solei Boneh and Kupat Holim; and the collapse of Matam, the moshav movements discount chain.

THESE SAME problems are sure to prey hard on the mind of Vice-Premier Shimon Peres. His position is extremely complex, with no clear gain or loss patterns. He must weigh the natural desire to deny advantages to the rival party against considerations of his own image and the Histadrut sector's woes.

In the Likud, Peres is automatically suspected of seeking to foil Shamir. On the face of it, nothing would serve Peres better. Many in Labour voiced the fear in conversations with *The Jerusalem Post* that the new economic programme will fix Shamir in the public's mind as a pre-elections winner and who the losers there is quite benefactor who has lowered taxes. His unpredictable.

term will be remembered as one in which life was good, while Peres will be the one who tightened Mr. Average's belt.

(Curiously, the reverse fears permeate the Likud. Peres's period is pictured there as neo-Aridorian, with the artificially cheap dollar, making imports and overseas junkets affordable for Mr. Average as never before, while under Shamir, he will have to pay medical and school fees.)

Peres realizes that a Shamir-Nissim success will do wonders for the Likud electorally. But it would not be simple for him to lead head-on opposition to the economic programme. Even if he wished to defeat it, Peres would have to be very clever and subtle, perhaps appearing to be the good guy and casting Kessar in the role of the villain.

But this, too, is easier said than done. It is not simple to control the Alignment Knesset faction. Considerable portions of it actively opposed Peres's economic plan, while the Likud faction largely helped it along despite the "noes" of many of the Likud's ministers.

But while Shamir's gain would at least in part be regarded as Peres's loss, the latter also stands to make some gains if the programme gets off to a promising start.

The more cooperative Peres appears, the better his image. He needs continued economic success to bolster his claim to the title of the nation's economic saviour. Otherwise, the recovery he started will be shown to have been hollow.

Moreover, difficulties in implementing the programme will lay him open to Likud charges that he is deliberately undermining the economy in order to hurt the Likud prime minister. The Likud already accuses him of not levelling as much influence on the Histadrut as he did during his own premiership.

Peres's credibility would be under severe fire if the programme failed and if he were to be presented as not having fulfilled his part of the rotation bargain. Besides, it doesn't pay to oppose something popular like a tax cut. No matter what he does, Peres seems to be in a no-win bind.

If he decides to oppose the Nissim proposals, he has to be careful not to go too far. He dare not bring down the government at this juncture and be charged with forcing unwanted elections on the public. In addition, there is no issue to campaign with as things stand now.

To top all this, Peres dare not be the first Labour leader during whose tenure the whole Histadrut framework came crashing down. Urgent and very massive cash transfusions are a must for many Histadrut enterprises.

The Likud has a majority in the Knesset Finance Committee, and it can close the tap for the Histadrut if there is too little cooperation in the economic plan. No one has said so openly, but Peres knows that no cooperation means no money for the Histadrut and the kibbutz movement. The Likud will then gloat about the myth of "capable Labour management."

Despite all this, a great deal of political chaff-banging is still possible, and after that the resulting programme will have to make new economic programme will fix Shamir in the public's mind as a pre-elections winner and who the losers there is quite benefactor who has lowered taxes. His unpredictable.

How the launching went wrong

THE TREASURY is usually a dull place. Seeing the empty offices and long corridors, a visitor might not suspect that this is the nerve centre of the economy. This week, however, the apparently slow pace was replaced by confused officials restlessly running in the corridors. Senior officials spent their time trying to explain to reporters how the government's new economic plan was almost killed by some of their colleagues, by the politicians, and by Governor of the Bank of Israel Michael Bruno. They said they were appalled by the "chaotic and careless" way in which the plan's presentation to the public had been made.

It had all started 10 days ago. Finance Minister Moshe Nissim briefed Likud ministers on the plan at the Knesset. The details of the programme - including the intentions to impose a 1 per cent tax on stock exchange transactions - were immediately leaked. In the storm that followed, the stock exchange was closed down for one day, under the pressure of a massive wave of sale orders. It was only after Nissim denied any intention of taxing the stock exchange that investors calmed down.

One can speculate that Nissim, a member of the Liberal Party, was not especially saddened by the way the stock exchange killed the idea of the transactions tax. Moreover, Nissim should have known that there was no way to avoid leaking the tax proposal to the media once Likud ministers were told such a step was being considered. This raises the possibility that his briefing was deliberately designed to kill the plan for taxing the stock exchange.

After that briefing, the plan en-

tered a crisis stage. In the early stages of the drafting of the plan, Nissim was told by the State Revenue Administration that people in the lower and middle income groups would not be hurt by the extensive scrapping of tax exemptions and by taxing allowances, since the benefits of lower rates would offset the income lost by the elimination of tax exemptions.

Two days after briefing his Likud colleagues, on the eve of his meeting with the inner economic committee which was to debate the plan, Nissim suddenly discovered that the State Revenue Administration had done a careless job. The tables which it had prepared were full of errors. Furthermore, some of these tables showed that there were middle income groups that would be hurt by the reform.

At this stage, on the eve of the first official meeting with the Histadrut, confusion spread at the Treasury. Officials tried without success to construct new tables of incomes and taxes that would correspond to Nissim's declarations. When the meeting with the inner cabinet took place, Nissim came without tables and figures. He preferred to deal with principles.

AT FIRST Nissim tried an indirect approach. The day after briefing Likud ministers, he started meeting with politicians, newspaper editors and representatives of the private sector. He explained the plan's principles to each visitor. Apparently he believed he would be able to manipulate public opinion indirectly, and to overcome opposition to the plan by convincing individual sectors.

But by this time, it was already

Avi Temkin

evident that the Treasury was losing the public relations battle. Every new economic programme needs a great deal of positive publicity - all the more so as Nissim admitted that the plan would widen the social gap.

While Nissim was briefing special groups, the public was being fed bits of information leaked by Treasury officials. The public responded by withdrawing funds from savings accounts and buying dollars on the black market. Thus, instead of introducing the plan in an orderly fashion, Nissim allowed the programme's details to be leaked to the media. With each new report, the public's confusion increased.

Nissim's troubles were compounded by Michael Bruno's lack of tact. In the middle of the delicate negotiations with the Histadrut, Bruno suggested that the labour federation should waive the cost-of-living allowance agreement for a period of time. At first, Bruno's spokesman tried to deny that he had made such declaration, charging that he had been misquoted. Soon, however, the governor was personally advising Histadrut Secretary-General Yisrael Kessar to forgo COL hikes.

Kessar should have been thankful for Bruno's remarks. It provided him with a banner, enabling him to present the plan to the public as nothing more than an exercise designed to redistribute income from the poor to the rich.

Kessar was really fighting on two levels. The first was for those workers, mainly represented in the strong unions, who have much to lose from

the scrapping of exemptions. Second, Kessar was fighting for money that will be deposited in the future in advanced study funds, on which much of the Histadrut finances depends. Government plans to tax employers' contributions to such funds represent a real threat to the labour federation.

Bruno's remarks were published together with leaked plans to tax child allowances, old-age allowances, and payments to widows and invalids, and eliminate special exemptions for development town residents and night-shift workers. This enabled the secretary-general to appear as fighting the plan not on the basis of party or sector considerations, but on behalf of the country's ordinary people, defending them from the Treasury's plans to rob them of their income and savings.

IT WAS at this point that a second miscalculation by Nissim and Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir became evident. They had thought that the Labour Party would be forced to support the plan for fear that any opposition would be interpreted as stemming from political considerations.

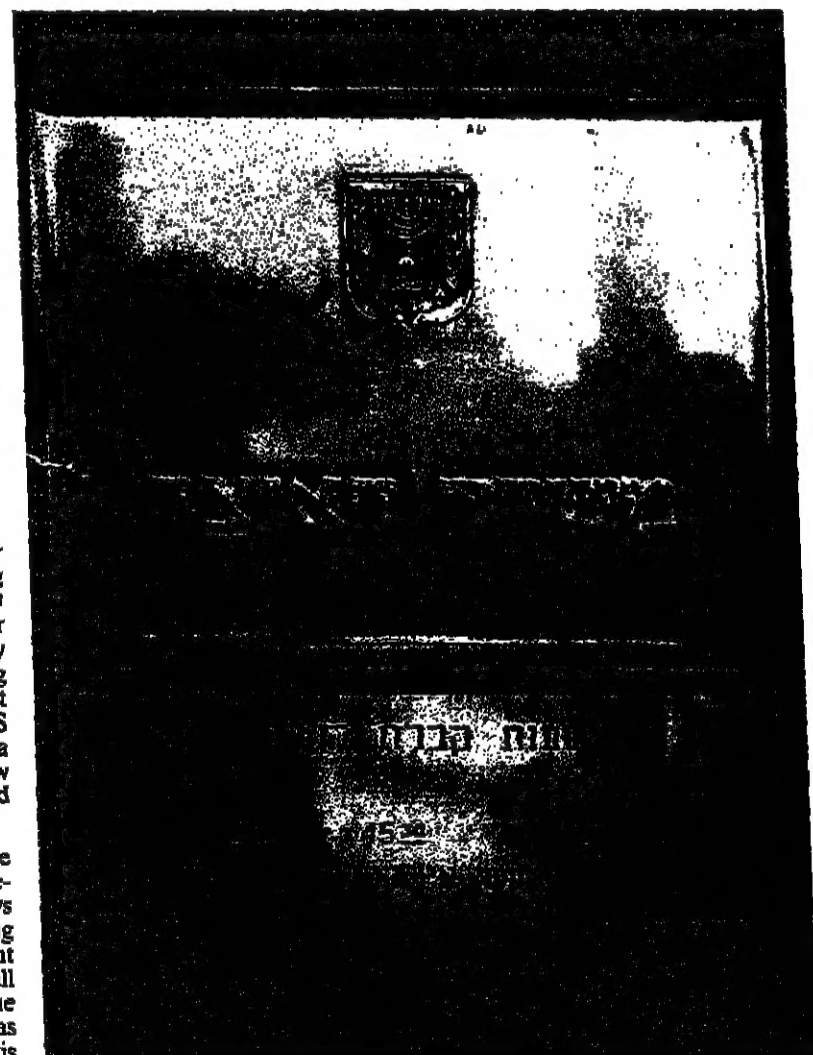
But Kessar saved Vice Premier Shimon Peres and his friends. For a few critical days Peres remained silent, while the Histadrut fought the Treasury's plans. Furthermore, once Kessar was joined by the head of the Likud at the Histadrut, MK Ya'acov Shamai, and by the president of the Manufacturers' Association, Dov

Lauman, in his criticism of the plan, it was impossible to claim that party considerations were guiding the labour federation.

Nissim's troubles did not end there. Strangely, one gets the impression he went on with his plans for sweeping reforms without enlisting the support of the entire Likud. That is the only explanation for the scathing criticism by Deputy Prime Minister David Levy, who was really left with no choice but to come out against it once the Histadrut Likud chief made his opposition public.

By this stage the finance minister must have realized that he was losing the battle for the plan, as opposition to it spread. When Interior Minister Yitzhak Peretz came out openly against it, Nissim knew something had to be done. While he knew that pushing through the proposed NIS 490 million budget slash would be a difficult task, he did not realize how far the outcry against the plan would be.

By Wednesday Nissim had made up his mind. After delaying the presentation of the plan for several days he decided to raise it at the coming cabinet meeting. He finally went public with it. But even then, not all the details were available as the State Revenue Administration was still busy finalizing its figures. It is too early to know what the plan's chances will be in the cabinet. Even if the cabinet approves it, Nissim still will face formidable obstacles. He would have to deal with the unions and the industrialists.



Nissim has been forced into taking unilateral action. Against all advice, he is going to try to present the Labour Party and the labour federations with a fait accompli. His chances of success are unknown. One can only quote Kessar who said that if the finance minister tried to take unilateral action to impose his plan, "only God could save him."

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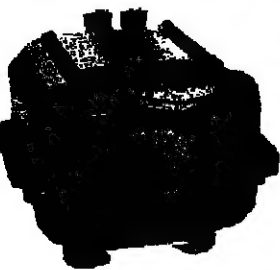
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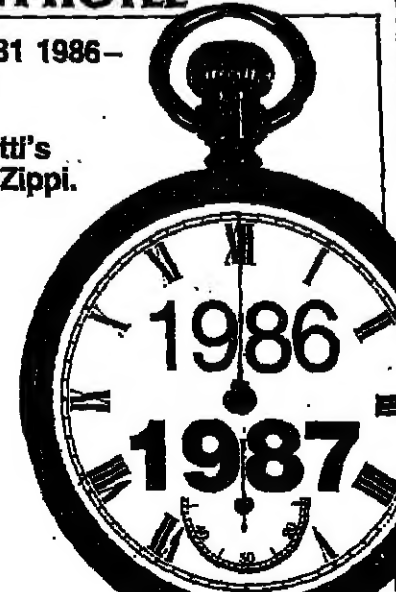
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THE ECONOMIC PLAN

Pinhas Landau gets conflicting views from two key figures

LAST SUNDAY the senior management of the Bank of Israel decided that things had gone far enough. The leaks about the contents of the new economic plan had come mostly from the Treasury, and the opposition had come from just about everyone else. The central bank found itself under heavy fire from all sides, and belatedly realized it was time to open its official mouth and tell the public directly its version.

This was done by Governor Michael Bruno, who seized the opportunity of a previously scheduled appearance at Tel Aviv University on Monday morning to deliver a major policy speech. In so doing, he not only outlined the principles of the reforms — and especially the capital market reform which the Bank of Israel is in charge of — but also fired back at his critics.

Behind closed doors, Bruno was even tougher than in his public pronouncements. At Tuesday's tripartite talks between the government, Histadrut and the manufacturers, Bruno bluntly reminded the Histadrut's trade union chief, Haim Haberfeld, of what he, Haberfeld, had had to say about the July 1985 economic plan when it was announced. In the light of that plan's subsequent success, and the non-emergence of social strains in its wake, Haberfeld's comments then sound rather peculiar now.

Bruno the central banker has not yet exorcised his previous incarnation as Bruno the economics professor. The first part of his address was therefore given over to a review of the economic background since the Yom Kippur War, leading up to the introduction of and success achieved by the Economic Stabilization Plan of July 1985, of which Bruno was one of the authors. After considering what had been achieved in the last year and a half and what not, the governor finally arrived at his jumping-off point — where we are now.

THE ECONOMY is at a crucial point from where it can either take off, if it is given certain conditions, or slip rapidly backwards, so that all the achievements to date go down the drain. That message, heard often enough from the finance minister, was Bruno's way of marking in the "You Are Here" on the map he wanted to draw.

Progress in the right direction was threatened by two factors, he continued. The first was the budget, where demands for increases in welfare and social spending, and in defence, could force the size of the budget deficit back up, and eliminate the possibility of transferring resources from the public sector to the private. In fact, Bruno noted, welfare spending tends to go up by itself, even if you did nothing about it, because of population growth and the underlying increase in demand for most of these services. Defence had indeed been cut, primarily through reduced local spending, but once foreign purchases were taken into account, the overall level was only slightly lower.

Then there was the wage front, the source of the second threat. Having already been pilloried in the press over the previous two days for reportedly suggesting that the Histadrut should consider waiving its right to a cost-of-living increment, he must have known he was wading into hot water, but he clearly didn't care.

Wages, or more accurately, labour costs, were the primary cause of the consumer spending boom and the decline in industry's profitability, he brazenly declared. Therefore the solution to the industrialists' complaint that they were being priced out of world markets was for them to stop giving in to wage claims. Given that energy costs, fi-

Bruno: It's now or never



(Dan Landau)

nance costs and other cost factors had declined over the past year, there was no doubt that soaring wages were the real problem — and the governor quoted statistics to prove his point, showing that real wages are now at a higher level than before July 1985, and private-sector wages are significantly so.

There was no case for paying wages that exceeded the productivity gains in each plant or firm, and this point should be brought home to unions and works committees, Bruno ploughed on. They should be told that excessive wage increases would lower the profitability of their place of employment and could even threaten their jobs. The reason wages had risen so much, he believed, was because of the accepted pattern of wage bargaining in Israel, "in which one side demands, the other side gives, and the ultimate bill is passed onto the government in one form or another. But who is the government if not we who pay the taxes to meet these bills?" he asked.

He then proceeded to repeat his suggestion that the Histadrut's contribution to the next stage should be the foregoing of the costs-of-living increment, on condition that the government act to bring inflation down to single figures. A rate of 10 or 12 per cent would be enough to absorb the Histadrut of its undertaking.

This was the stuff for the headlines, particularly since Bruno singled out Ma'ariv for having misquoted him and put words into his mouth. This time, at least, it was all first-hand stuff, not leaks from supposedly secret talks.

But, as Bruno himself said, tax reforms and the budget process were not his direct concern, and he dwelt at length on the rationale for the capital market reform that his subordinates had prepared.

"This is the first time in 12 years that there is anything more than talk about the government's withdrawal from the capital market," he said. This withdrawal has begun but it must be broadened, and he went on to list the main points involved in the government's plan to open up the capital markets, including foreign borrowing, and rationalizing the money markets, where each borrower pays a different interest rate, depending on which sector he belongs to, the purpose of the loan and other discriminatory factors. All this results in a gross distortion in allocating financial resources.

He dealt with the problem of the preferential treatment of industry, and especially of exports, in the

context of access to capital, by turning the question on its head. These sectors, which currently obtain "directed credit" at rates much cheaper than the cost of "free" credit, and which can get the Finance Ministry to approve their bond issues on the Tel Aviv Stock Exchange, are claiming that the reform of the capital markets will hurt them and that the national interest is to give them preference.

The answer to that, said Bruno, is that these groups have already had their reform. For them credit is already cheap. The object now is to get everybody else into line with them, and to remove the discriminatory allocation of capital. That will make average interest rates cheaper everywhere. True, Bruno granted, some rates will rise, and those who had benefited from them will therefore lose. But these rates had been effectively subsidized, and their availability had resulted in investments that had no real economic justification and would never have been undertaken if cheap financing had not been provided.

Having gone out on a limb by taking such a free-market stance — at least in terms of what the Israeli mainstream is used to — Bruno hastened to cover himself with a fig leaf of interventionism. "I am not in favour of a totally free economy," he reassured his audience, "but I believe that the government's intervention must be limited to the level of overseeing the general trend in the economy. Whereas when the economy was small, in the 1950s, it was possible and perhaps necessary to look after each little sapling, now the forest is too big for individual attention to each tree and the government has to look after the forest as a whole."

He even made a ritual bow in the direction of the late finance minister, Pinhas Sapir, the high priest of government involvement in every detail of the economy. Sapir's achievements had been remarkable, Bruno said, and he had almost single-handedly laid the foundations of Israeli industry. But the conditions had changed, at home and abroad, and this was what had given rise to the need to make a series of interlocking reforms in the key sectors of the economy.

Two days later, Bruno's themes were on full public display again, in the background chapters to the draft budget proposal that the Treasury delivered to the cabinet and the media on Wednesday afternoon. Clearly, Bruno is not alone in his views.

"THE BASIS has to be the consultation between the main factors in the economy — the government, the Histadrut and the Manufacturers' Association. The aim of the consultation process should be a package that boosts Israel's gross real output, while the process itself can suggest directions for cutting the budget to provide the resources needed to achieve this aim." In these words Danny Rosolio, chief executive of the Histadrut-owned economic giant, Hevrat Ha'Ovdim, summed up his organization's approach to how economic reform should be tackled.

His starting-point was more remarkable than his conclusion, because the first thing he had to say about the general reform plan was that "Hevrat Ha'Ovdim accepts the need for the two main reforms. There can be no doubt about lowering taxes, opening up the capital market and reducing the government's role." Having thus espoused the mainstream approach to what things need to be done, he repeatedly stressed in the course of the interview, that the greatest single problem that had arisen was that the government was not talking to the other main players in the economy. All three elements needed to be included in the process of establishing a list of priorities.

Rosolio, however, described himself as "not at all pessimistic" about the chances of a plan being put together. "The atmosphere in the country is right and it can be done," he was sure, because "everyone involved has a common interest in achieving something that can work, and that is the basis for success."

July 1985, in his mind, was the supreme example of the benefits of cooperation, and proves the validity of a more general rule, that whenever the government has tried to go it alone, it has not reached its goals, whilst consultation and cooperation have always paid dividends.

In terms of common interests, however, Rosolio admitted that Hevrat Ha'Ovdim, as a major employer and manufacturer in numerous sectors, saw eye to eye with the Manufacturers' Association on the general direction and underlying assumptions involved in the reforms — and neither of them liked what they saw. The implication of this congruence of interests is that the Histadrut and the Manufacturers will put up a joint front against the current proposals in any consultative process that does take place, and this is indeed what occurred on Tuesday, at the meeting between the economic cabinet and representatives of the Histadrut and the employers.

WHEN YOU GET right down to it, Rosolio and Bruno — like Kessar and Nissim — are arguing philosophy. Nor did the Hevrat Ha'Ovdim boss seek to deny that. Although, as noted, his starting point was the same common wisdom that now dominates the Israeli economic debate, in which budget cuts allow for tax reform and the withdrawal of the government from the capital market, that is not where his heart lies.

"Hevrat Ha'Ovdim is proposing that if the government does not wish to move in the direction of a directed economy, then it must lower industry's real costs, so as to allow it to compete on the international markets. I, however, still believe that an economy that has definite goals must have the policies to achieve those goals, and this requires the government to move it in the desired direction."

These beliefs, however, are sublimated because as Rosolio sadly notes, "It's no use talking about that today." One suspects that he is thinking more of the Americans, both Jews in the Task Force and gentiles in the administration, rather



(Ippa)

Histadrut industry chief questions the priorities

than of his ideological opponents at home, when he concludes that "it's no use."

The argument therefore focuses on policy measures rather than the philosophy behind them. Rosolio lists several problems with the ideas contained in the outline of the economic plan as announced so far. There is a threat of widening the already yawning gap between rich and poor through overdoing benefits to the top income brackets. There is a potential industrial relations crisis because the government cannot simply decide unilaterally to abandon duly-agreed wage deals involving salary conditions and fringe benefits.

Then there is the issue that worries all the industrialists, including Rosolio and his colleagues at Hevrat Ha'Ovdim. This is that the plan offers no preferential treatment for industry, but, instead, equates its status with that of trade and import in terms both of access to credit and tax incentives.

This is not merely wrong, in Rosolio's view, it is downright dangerous, because without a clear policy to support industry, the fundamental problem of the imbalance between imports and exports will never be resolved. "You cannot give up specific support programmes for promoting your goals. They must find expression."

THERE IS AN EVEN more closely defined problem concerning the industrialists. The industrial portfolio of the country as a whole is heavily skewed toward the dollar bloc in several key sectors, notably defence and electronics. The exporters are being squeezed between rising local costs and a constant dollar exchange rate. They want something done about it — if not a devaluation, which they accept will not help, then other forms of support.

What about the Free Trade Agreements with the EEC and the U.S., which rule out export subsidies? Rosolio believes that there are methods of helping without breaching the terms of the treaties, but he does not go into details.

What he does reject is Bank of Israel Governor Michael Bruno's argument that it has been the high wage rises granted by employers that have made their goods uncompetitive, and that if they would only allow real wage increases when these were justified by productivity increases then they wouldn't have such problems.

Rosolio sees this approach as "theoretical" and the suggestion that firms simply refuse to pay wage rises they cannot afford "sounds fine as a pronouncement *ex cathedra*," but is totally divorced from the real world. "One has to think in a realistic manner. Firms face wage claims which, if they are not met, will cause staff to pack up and go elsewhere."

Furthermore, the idea of fixing wage levels at the plant or regional level rather than at the national level, is a recipe for disaster, Rosolio believes. "Were it not for the Histadrut and the national agreements it signs, there would be total chaos. And these national wage agreements have to be suited to conditions in the economy as a whole, or else they will be ignored."

Returning to the question of giving industry preferential treatment, Rosolio agrees that this boils down to finding the resources. One method — the present one, that the plan seeks to abolish — is to give industry access to capital at better terms, regarding amounts, cost and ease of repayment, than other sectors. The other method is to make grants or other direct support available.

While the former method does not appear on the government's budget

directly, it is being discontinued because it causes distortions throughout the economy, according to the planners. The latter method makes for easier allocation in specific directions, but it must come out of the budget. That means either increasing the budgetary deficit or cutting other spending to make room for it.

Rosolio at first takes the easy way out by saying that it's the government's job to find resources to help industry. Later, however, he suggests that once the Histadrut and the manufacturers are brought into the planning process, it will be easier to come up with a solution. He is careful not to say what — if anything — he has in mind.

THE RESULT OF not doing anything to help industry will be that it will run up heavy losses, and then the government will end up spending far more in the long run when it is forced to sort out the mess created.

Responding to the argument that the Histadrut and the Manufacturers' Association represent the big firms with access to "directed credit" and therefore both stand to lose if the system is changed, which explains why they are opposed to the reforms, Rosolio points out that the big firms are the ones with the big problems, and that making their sources of funding more expensive is not going to help them.

Nor, he continues, are all these problems their own fault. The electronics sector, of which Histadrut-owned Tadiran comprises fully one-third, cannot be accused of not keeping up to date nor investing. It has been battered by the frozen dollar ruining its export competitiveness, the defence ministry spending cuts shattering its local market, and the world electronics industry going through a slump.

Similarly, the moshavim have fallen victim to government policies that destroyed all agricultural planning, and Rosolio fingers former agriculture minister Ariel Sharon as more responsible for this than anyone else.

Nevertheless, he is prepared to admit that experience round the world in recent years shows that new jobs are being created mainly by small firms of up to 100 workers, rather than the big concerns. That would suggest that allowing small firms equal access to capital along with the big boys would do more for growth than maintaining the benefits that the larger companies now enjoy.

This may not find expression in the attitude of Hevrat Ha'Ovdim toward the emerging reform plans; but it is having an impact on the internal planning within the conglomerate. There is now an intention, yet to be fleshed out, to organize into smaller entities. There is also a commitment already at work under the chairmanship of Bank of Israel chairman Professor Eitan Berglas, considering how Hevrat Ha'Ovdim companies are to raise capital in the new-style capital market that will emerge from the consultations on the impending reforms.

In other words, the inevitability of change is already assumed by Hevrat Ha'Ovdim, but the details will still be fiercely contested.

That is the essence of Rosolio's position. The imposition of government plans, in taxation or the capital markets, will only spark opposition. Better, therefore, to consult in advance and make measured, and perhaps even slower progress, than to try and do everything in one fell swoop.

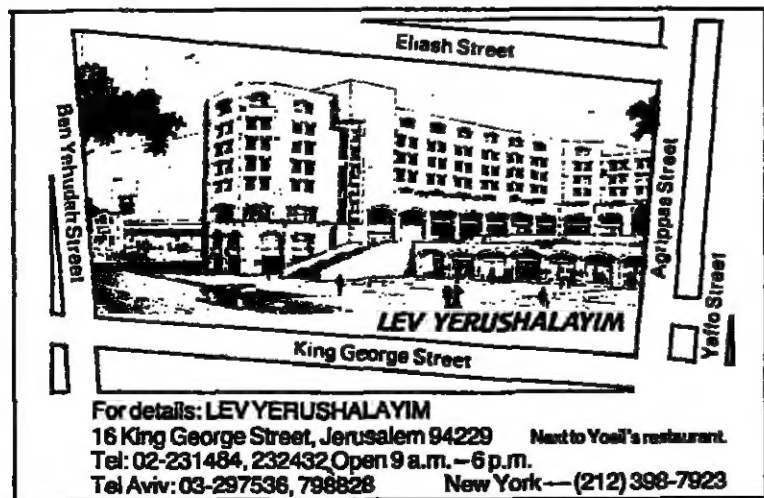
Consultation, however, must mean more than simply giving others a hearing. It must allow the employers and employees a limited but definite partnership role, because that is the surest and most effective way to making the reforms a success.

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Lifting the lid off Irangate

chief, is obliged to keep silent on the reasons for so abruptly quitting his co-ordinating role in the affair. Otherwise we might get the answers to the following questions: a. Was it because of his distaste for the media? Its members include Eban, Simcha Dinitz, Elmad Olmert, David Magen and Yosef Burg. Their politics notwithstanding, all committee members wish colleague Yossi Sarid a speedy recovery from his cardiac problem. For them, he's the best cure for boredom.

ANYONE WHO took Finance Minister Moshe Nissim's meekness at face value, now finds himself facing a tough and wily participant in the current economic debate. But he'll have a tough time persuading

government for keeping them in the dark on Irangate. After all no one can accuse the committee's intelligence sub-unit of leaking to the media. Its members include Eban, Simcha Dinitz, Elmad Olmert, David Magen and Yosef Burg. Their politics notwithstanding, all committee members wish colleague Yossi Sarid a speedy recovery from his cardiac problem. For them, he's the best cure for boredom.

Histadrut Secretary-General Yisrael Kessar that Treasury promises to benefit salaried employees are more credible than the meteorological service's forecast of a dry season.

Labour's economic duo - Peres and Economics and Planning Minister Gad Ya'acobi wondered what Nissim meant when he talked of "the economic programme". Neither they nor Premier Shamir had received any written document by mid-week, with Treasury officials claiming it would only be printed after weighing all the counter-arguments.

WHEN Labour and Social Services Minister Moshe Katsav lengthily praised Shulamit Shamir's work as

chairman of the Council for the Aged at Sunday's cabinet meeting, her husband, the PM remarked smilingly: "I didn't hear that part."

INCIDENTALLY, Ya'acobi established a record, as the first minister ever to publicize his salary. He told Israel Radio's "7th Column" programme that "We have to manage on my IS 1,200 monthly salary. We have no extra income." He reported having regularly shopped at the local supermarket before he became a minister.

WHO'D EVER think we'd be yearning for the days when Justice and Tourism Minister Avraham Shariar spent most of the year abroad? However, its doubtful whether his Liberal rival Minister without Portfolio Yitzhak Moda'i will get back his old post at Justice. There's talk of his replacing Herut's Haim Corbi at Transport, with the latter taking over Justice. Moda'i is reportedly writing his memoirs, said to contain sharp criticism of Peres's treatment of him as finance minister. Some people at Likud H.Q. hope it'll prove useful during the next election campaign.

NOW THAT SHARON has steam-rolled opposition to installing ex-top General Security Service Agent Yosef Gennosar ("G" in the Shin Bet affair) as chairman of the Israel Export Institute, after he made former agent Rafi Eitan chairman of Israel Chemicals, it may be said that in Israel old spooks never fade away, they end up in plush board rooms.

COMMUNICATIONS Minister Amnon Rubinstein took Shinui MK Zeidan Atsbe with him to Cairo. His aides see nothing wrong in his taking a party power-broker along on an official visit aimed at improving Israel-Egypt phone links. Perhaps on his return, he'll do something about improving connections with Petah Tikva?

THE 12TH ANNUAL dialogue of the European Parliament and the

Knesset went off well. There was generally a good turn-out of MKs for discussions with the 12-member delegation led by French Socialist Roger Fajardie. Except for the session on women's rights, when only three women MKs turned up - Likud leader Shulamit Aloni and Social Services and Labour committee chairman Ora Namir (Alignment), who was Knesset rapporteur for the dialogue. Fajardie's two deputies were women - former Danish Education Minister Tove Nelsen (Liberal) and West Germany's Ursula Braun-Moser.

THE VISIT of Tonga Crown Prince T'ua Tamdepeau Tupou, who is the Pacific Island's foreign secretary, is seen as the first tangible outcome of President Chaim Herzog's state visit to the Far East, which President Shamir says was "a major breakthrough" for Israel. The prince was the president's guest of honour for lunch yesterday, but the Beit Hanassi kitchen was unable to provide the exciting fare - wrapped in banana and palm fronds - which the President and Mrs. Arah Herzog and their entourage enjoyed during their Tonga stay.

THE PRESIDENT'S dinner for Nobel Peace laureate Eli Wiesel last night crowned Israeli celebrations in his honour. Some think Wiesel might have given more credit to the two chief lobbyists for his Nobel award: Holocaust survivor Sigmund Streichitz and Boston University president John Silber, where Wiesel lectures. According to the *New Republic* weekly, Silber won't take any credit, saying "That would be like the trainer claiming he's the race horse."

Many Israelis are wondering why Wiesel altered his award speech text, so as to include the Palestinians in his list of "oppressed peoples". Was it in order to curry favour with the Oslo press corps? Do we have to guess who the oppressor is? Why didn't he urge a peace-seeking Palestinian

leadership instead of one killing Jews?

TEL AVIV socialite Sonya Abramovich, patron of the Tel Aviv Kirya maternity hospital combined with contractor Shalom Blustein is organizing a successful fund-raising dinner at the Hilton Hotel for the memorial to fallen Nahal soldiers. Defence Minister Rabin appealed for public support of the commemorative site to rise near Pardes Hanna. He sat with Chief of General Staff Rav-Aluf Moshe Levy. Nahal Commander Tat-Aluf Yoram (Chuchin) Gilboa, and Diamond Exchange president Moshe Schnitzer. Their neighbours were Amiram Nir and his wife Judy, and Able and Carina Nathan.

The project, which includes a memorial wall bearing the fallen soldiers' names, an amphitheatre, a synagogue and a recreation park centring on a memorial tower, is budgeted at \$5m., with \$500,000 as the initial target for the memorial wall. So I learned from bereaved families' chairman Eliezer Pincus, who says donations may be sent to the Nahal Soldiers' Memorial Association, P.O.E. 39137, Tel Aviv 61391.

PRIOR to his departure, Polish conductor-composer Krystian Zdenek visited here and his wife Elizabeth visited Beth Hatefutsoth, where he revealed plans to compose an opera on Hasidic themes, when seeking out suitable sheet music in the Diaspora Museum's music section.

FILM MOGUL Menahem Golan's Cannon company's headline-making financial crisis is "just a matter of cash-flow problems", says Itzik Kol, his Israel operations' chief. They won't affect film production plans here. They're just finishing their eighth children's film - *The Emperor's New Clothes* starring comedian Sid Caesar and the ninth, *Puss in Boots*, will begin on January 11th, he promises.

Programming - method behind the madness?

Telereview/Philip Gillon

IT IS ABUNDANTLY clear that nobody charged with planning our television programmes ever wonders what the viewers, out there in the boundless night, would like to see at any particular time. No doubt they consider that what they want is irrelevant: in the producers' paradise that is Israel, who bothers about the desires of the consumers?

Let us consider the 8 p.m. slot. On successive nights, starting with Friday, we get religion, a comedy, pop music, a middlebrow series like *Paper, Chase*, an Israeli game show, *Judaism* and sport. It is impossible to detect any kind of unity between these programmes. They make strange bedfellows. Maybe the presumption is that viewers do not want to see the same kind of show every night at the same time. This way, it may be argued, they can see what interests or amuses them once or twice a week, and on other nights can play bridge or go to the theatre or visit their in-laws. TV House may think that too much viewing turns people's brains to mush, something the programmers are determined to avoid.

If this is indeed the concept, I think it is an erroneous one. Viewers watch whatever is on, even if they don't want it; they also develop patterns of thought. Thus, under the present arrangement, lovers of comedy probably laugh their heads off on Friday and Wednesday nights, when Judaism is on the agenda, under the misapprehension that they are seeing comedy series they do not

comprehend, and which must therefore be very, very funny indeed.

What is particularly bewildering is why we have pop music at 8 p.m. on Sunday nights. These programmes, incidentally, are generally very well done, but I assume they are aimed at lovers of this particular art form. I should imagine that aficionados are generally teenagers or young adults, and that they enjoy cutting a rug at home to the songs of their adored stars, before going on to a disco to get the real thing instead of the two-dimensional image, and to keep at it till dawn.

But surely, they must be night owls, for whom 8 p.m. is what noon is for staid old folk. So why in the name of sanity put on pop at so inappropriate an hour? It could easily be moved to Tuesday at 11:05, thereby making it possible to bring *Night Court*, one of the funniest American comedies going, on at Sundays at 8. I hate to think of all the people who are missing *Night Court* because they have gone to bed by 11.

Something else I find hard to understand is why *Quotation Mark* comes on at 10:35, after *Dynasty*, and before a TV drama. *Quotation Mark* is very good, but it is a high-brow show with limited and specialized appeal. The timing seems to indicate to paranoiacs that TV House is punishing viewers because they watched *Dynasty*, surely the lowest-browed show ever made.

If this is the objective, it is not achieved, because the undisciplined viewers merely switch over to Jordan

or Middle East TV. Obviously *Quotation Mark* and the drama should be switched around. Our intelligence, like the pop lovers, go to sleep late.

Of course, Israel Television can respond loftily and correctly to these suggestions that there is nothing in the Broadcasting Law, under which they operate, that obliges them to give viewers what they want. On the contrary, the law spells out in great detail that viewers must be given what the framers of the law thought was good for them. I don't know the answer to this one, apart from turning to Jordan or the video libraries.

NIGHT COURT is an example of American wit at its best. The show bristles with very good wisecracks, the characters are zany and the cases and situations devised for Judge Harry Stone's court, in or out of session, explode with possibilities that are developed very merrily. I place it alongside *Soap*, *Agony* and *Taxi* as being among the best American comedy series we have seen - or not seen, if we believe in going early to bed. Harry is really a very lovable and oddball protector of the law, yet he is wise enough to cope with a relaxed nun, a TV star cat and a \$5m. lottery winner.

A different version of American law in action is presented in *The Paper Chase*. Whatever we can say about that pompous cumudgeon, Professor Kingsfield, we certainly cannot call him lovable.

In this week's episode, he heads a panel that hears the appeal of a student expelled for striking a professor. The defence, ingeniously presented by young Ford - the clever younger brother, not Hart's obtuse friend - is temporary loss of sanity. This contention is supported by the Harvard psychiatrist who examined the offender. No evidence in rebuttal is presented.

The judgment of Kingsfield and his colleagues could have been given by an English judge in the 19th century, before psychiatry was invented. With great magnanimity, the panel reduces the sentence to three years' suspension instead of expulsion. I think young Ford should get Kingsfield's reasoning for rejecting the psychiatrist's findings tested in a court.

We saw rough and quick justice being administered the Israel way in *Small Claims Court*, which deals with arguments about amounts below NIS 3,000. Judge Binyamin Cohen, who presides, does not observe fixed procedures or the rules of evidence or cross-examination, but tries to sort out the truth by separating the wheat from the chaff.

Professor Kingsfield would probably consider it to be a rather dangerous system, in that it abrogates methods of administering law that have been developed over centuries. For instance, in one of the cases we saw, Judge Cohen's decision hinged on his impression of who was telling the truth. Without cross-examination, even a Shin Bet witness may be convincing.

Nevertheless, the system is certainly an excellent one, because of the saving in both time and legal expenses. In one case we saw, the amount involved was NIS 146, and the argument was a matter of principle for both sides.

I could not help speculating what the principle might have cost them in time, energy and, above all, money, if the small claims court did not exist. Once upon a time I used to be a lawyer, and I used to tell belligerent clients, "You fight for your principle, and I'll end up with your principal."

WE ARE going to enjoy the new thriller series *Spenser: For Hire*, which got off to a cracking start on

Monday night. Spenser is somewhat reminiscent of the English Bulman in his passion for the poets and his ability to produce apt quotations whenever needed.

The show is based on some very well-written thrillers by Robert Parker, a writer with an intellectual background, and to judge from the first episode, the screen adaptation is first-class. Spenser is a private detective plus knight in shining armour in the mould established way back in the Thirties by Dashiell Hammett and then perfected by Raymond Chandler in Marlowe. The type became a tradition: numerous good writers, like John D. MacDonald, created characters like Travis McGee to carry on the pursuit of the holy grail of justice and the defence of the weak wronged by the strong.

Robert Ulrich has been very well cast as the righteous but tough private eye with a heart of gold, and Avery Brooks is equally impressive as the formidable Hawk, who is to become Spenser's ally in future adventures. The weakness in the first episode lay in how Hawk was transformed from a vicious enforcer for a gangster into a gentleman whose heart is every bit as golden as Spenser's own.

Well, now that we have got that enforcer business out of the way, we can get down to the serious business of Spenser quoting Shakespeare and Wordsworth as he and Hawk smite villains hip and thigh with mighty hands.

AFTER THIS week's revelations about some people in the CIA helping the Iraqis by pinpointing Iranian targets for their planes to bomb out of existence, while other people in the CIA were cooperating with Israel in supplying arms to Iran to blow the Iraqi towns to smithereens, insights into what really happened in

October 1956 seem to be not only old hat, but also rather pallid and not very shocking. The Anglo-French-Israeli collusion before the Sinai Campaign may have been a secret conspiracy, denied vehemently at the time by all the leaders concerned, but the aim, teaching Nasser a well-deserved lesson, was such a deserving one that nobody in his right mind should mind that there was a little harmless deceit by the leaders of France, England and Israel in 1956.

Despite these reservations, I found the BBC film, reconstructing the fateful meetings in a house in France, which we saw on *Second Look*, both very interesting and very revealing. Mordechai Bar-On described very graphically the way in which Selwyn Lloyd, the British Foreign Secretary, came to the meeting adorned with a false moustache.

Perhaps the most important disclosure was that a formal document was signed, and was not destroyed, despite Anthony Eden's demand that it should be. Ben-Gurion had taken the Israeli copy, folded it up, put it in his pocket and rushed off home with it. It now reposes in the Ben-Gurion archives at Sde Boker.

We also got an explanation of the mess at the Mifla Pass. This was really only a sideshow, designed by Dayan to satisfy the British that we were after the Canal, not just the Straits of Tiran. It was a bit tough on the paratroopers concerned but you can't please all the people all the time.

Naturally, England both double-crossed her partners in the conspiracy and also made an appalling mess of its part of the operation. We have become accustomed, from all the self-denigrating British films we see, to watch the British playing the role of the treacherous buffoon.

RAM EVRON had a marvellous guest on *This is the Time* this week - Sammy Elkayam, the convicted murderer, whom Evron interviewed

when he was on leave from prison, to see his wife and twin daughters.

Elkayam told us that he had spent most of his life in jail, and that he had grown up believing in crime and violence as a career, just as somebody else might want to be an engineer.

In prison he learned to read and write. Michael Tzur, at one time a great civil servant, who was convicted of a white-collar crime, taught him English. (Tzur generally changed the lives of many prisoners through the educational activities he initiated for them while he was in prison.) Another prisoner taught Elkayam French. He read copiously, and was most impressed by Dostoevsky's *Crime and Punishment* and *The Brothers Karamazov*.

A local paper has published Elkayam's diary, and he is now preparing it for publication as a book. It should be a great success. And he must be a strong candidate for a presidential pardon.

Equally impressive was the air force education officer, Uri Dromi, as modest and unassuming as he was good-looking, clever and articulate. He cited the story of Milos and Athens as a warning against Israelis believing that might is right - the Athenians occupied Milos when the islanders were defenceless, but the inhabitants warned the Athenians that some day they too might become strong. And this came to pass.

He also pointed out only that we must never launch a war in April or May, because of the effect on the tourist trade, which brought us in a milliard dollars. No glorious conquest was worth so high a price, he suggested.

We also got some important and amusing revelations about the love-life of the poet Rachel from Binyamin Chachikeli, of Kibbutz Na'an, who found a treasure of love-letters she had written in Russian to a Michael Bernstein. These letters should prove important adjuncts to her poetry. Altogether it was a very good programme.



YESHIVA UNIVERSITY

Invites students and YU Alumni to its

Hanukka Celebration

on Thursday, December 25, 1986 - 23 Kislev 5747

at 8:00 p.m. at the UO/NCSS Israel Center,

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For a Shiur in Hebrew on

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Prof. NECHAMA LEIBOWITZ -

Professor of Biblical Exegesis at the Y.U., Gruss Kollel

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המועצה הציבורית למען יהודי ברית המועצות
THE ISRAEL PUBLIC COUNCIL FOR SOVIET JEWRY

International Conference on Jewish Culture and Identity in the Soviet Union

Ten years since the attempted Moscow International Conference on Jewish Culture, which was obstructed by the authorities

The conference will take place during Hanukka, on Monday and Tuesday, December 29-30, 1986, at Bar-Ilan University.

Sunday, December 28, 1986 - 6:30 p.m.

Opening Session

President's Residence, under the auspices of the President of Israel

Arraheem Nazzari, President, Public Council for Soviet Jewry

Guests:

President of Israel, Mr. Haim Herzog

Arif Dolev, Chairman W.Z.O.

Israel Singer, Secretary General, World Jewish Congress

Prof. Benjamin Patai, Chairman, Moscow Conference, Oct. 1976

and Conference in Israel, 1985

Lectures:

Prof. Arif Dolev, President, W.Z.O. Institute of Science

Concluding Words:

Yitzhak Korn, Chairman, World Jewish Congress, Israel Executive

Monday, December 29, 1986 - 9:00-10:45 a.m.

FIRST SESSION: HISTORICAL DIMENSION -

SESSION DEVOTED TO YOSSEF BEGUN

Chairman:

Haim Chesser, Secretary General, Public Council for Soviet Jewry

Guests:

Prof. Michael Albeck, President, Bar-Ilan University

Lectures:

Prof. Benjamin Patai, Tel Aviv University -

Background of the Present Jewish Cultural Movement in the Soviet Union

Prof. Shmuel Etlinger, The Hebrew University -

Changes in Jewish Identity during the Soviet Period

Dr. Haim Margalit, "On Yossef Begun"

Concluding Words:

Mark Zilka, Executive Director, Information Department, W.Z.O.

1:00-2:30 p.m. LUNCH

THIRD SESSION:

THE ZIONIST STRUGGLE AND JEWISH CULTURE IN THE USSR

Chairman:

David Yaffe, Chairman, Public Council for Soviet Jewry

Comments:

Minister of Absorption, Yasskov Tzur

Lectures:

Nathan Shtroum

Martin Gilbert (London) - Soviet Jews, their Cultural Struggle

and their Personal Aspirations

2:30-4:00 p.m.

FOURTH SESSION:

THE SOVIET REGIME AND JEWISH CULTURE

Chairman:

Uri Yaffe, Head of the Information Department, W.Z.O.

Lectures:

Prof. Benjamin Patai, Bar-Ilan University -

Soviet Policy Towards Jewish National Movements

Jews in Germany

Dr. Meir Tavor, Tel Aviv University -

Jewish Culture in the Soviet Union: Legal Aspects

Dr. Shmuel Etlinger (London) - Soviet Jewry and

the Implementation of the Helsinki Act

Concluding Words:

Shmuel Shtroum, Executive Director, Ministry of Absorption

Tuesday, December 30, 1986 - 9:00-10:30 a.m.

FIFTH SESSION:

SOCIAL CHANGES AND CULTURAL REVIVAL

Chairman:

Prof. Zvi Litvin, Weizmann Institute, Chairman, Scientific Committee for Soviet Jewry

Lectures:

Prof. Mordechai Altshuler - Social Changes and their effect on Cultural Activities within Soviet Jewry

Prof. Yasskov Tzur, Tel Aviv University -

The Revival of Jewish Culture in the Soviet Union as a

Visible Solution to the Jewish Question

Prof. Shmuel Etlinger, The Hebrew University -

The Literary World of Non-Ashkenazi Jewry in the Soviet Union

Concluding Words:

David Yaffe, Chairman, Information Department, W.Z.O.,

and Member of the World Jewish Congress Executive

COFFEE BREAK

11:00 a.m. - 12:30 p.m.

SIXTH SESSION:

TESTIMONIES - HOW JEWISH CULTURE EXISTS IN THE SOVIET UNION

Chairman:

Dr. Avri Beker, Bar-Ilan University and Executive Director of the World Jewish Congress, Israel Executive

Lectures:

Eliyahu Ezer - Religious Revival Under Totalitarian Communism

Prof. Alexander Vornon - The Zionist Struggle

After the Six Day War and the Russian Emancipation

Mark Zilka (London) - Hebrew Literature in the Soviet Union

Ezer Ezer (Pamot Gai) - Jewish Experiences -

Reports of a Visit to the Soviet Union

Concluding Words:

Vladimir Lerner, Member of Organizing Committee, Moscow 1976

1:00-2:30 p.m. - LUNCH

SEVENTH SESSION:

PROSPECTS AND PROBLEMS IN THE STRUGGLE FOR JEWISH CULTURE IN THE SOVIET UNION

Chairman:

Eliyahu Ezer, Bar-Ilan University

Opening Words:

Prof. Y.A. Kras, Pector, Bar-Ilan University



Yusef Goell interviews Clinton Bailey, above, a specialist on the PLO-Shi'ite struggle

FOUR YEARS after its expulsion from Beirut by Israel, and slightly less since Yasser Arafat's expulsion from his Tripoli base by Syrian-backed PLO rebels, the PLO is back in Lebanon, and in force.

It is as yet far from certain that this week's ceasefire forced on the PLO and the Shi'ite Amal forces which have been contending for control of the Christian town of Maghdousheh, will be any more successful than previously announced ceasefire agreements. But the fact is that the PLO did have the upper hand over Amal at Maghdousheh, and that they remain in the Palestinian camps in Beirut, at Ein Hilwe and Mita Mita near Sidon and at Rashidiyeh near Tyre.

Several interesting points in regard to the events around the Maghdousheh fighting and the Amal sieges around the Palestinian camps invite comment. This week's ceasefire was achieved by the Iranians working through the Hizbullah Shi'ites after previous attempts by Syria and the Salvation Front of the PLO oppositionists had failed to put an end to the fighting. On the one hand, this raises questions as to the

While the Arab world watches

degree of Syrian control over events in Lebanon in general and over Amal and the Hizbullah in particular. On the other hand, it highlights the extent of Iranian influence on the Hizbullah forces in the country which is Israel's northern neighbour.

The brutal fighting in the Shatilla and Bourj Al-Barajneh camps in Beirut provide additional validation of Israel's claims that during the Lebanese war the Western press applied a blatant double standard against Israel. In 1982 Israel was pilloried by the Western media for the massacre of Palestinian civilians in the Sabra and Shatilla camps, although the actual massacre had been carried out by the Maronite Christian Falangist forces, and there had not been even the slightest hint of direct Israeli involvement.

Today, Shatilla is reported to be about 70 per cent destroyed, and there have been hundreds of fatalities among Palestinian civilian populations, but all it merits, at the most, is inside page treatment in the international press. Ironically, a Palestinian version of this point was made last week by the Kuwaiti daily *Al-Rai' el-Am*. It noted that in the fighting around the Palestinian camps in Lebanon many more Palestinians had been killed by other Arabs than had ever been killed by Israel. And the same Arab world which raised a storm over Israeli killing of Palestinians was today strangely silent in the face of an even worse Palestinian calamity.

A third interesting point was made by Israel Television this week in its report on the fighting in Maghdousheh and around the Beirut camps. It reported that the Lebanese Christians are now cooperating with the PLO — their erstwhile mortal enemy — and were permitting them

to use Jouniya harbour, north of Beirut, to bring in arms for their forces throughout Lebanon. The report claimed that the PLO had paid the Christian forces \$200 million in payment for such support.

In an attempt to make sense of the events and shifting alliances in the morass that is Lebanon, I went to Dr. Clinton Bailey, a lecturer in the history of Palestinian nationalism at Tel Aviv University, and a former adviser to the Ministry of Defence on the Lebanese Shi'ites. I began with the question, why had the PLO been able to stand up to the Amal forces at Maghdousheh and elsewhere?

"The PLO have held out against Amal, but they haven't gotten the military edge over them. The fact is that the PLO have not succeeded in breaking out of the Amal sieges around the camps, and only scored successes at Maghdousheh," he said.

Dr. Bailey added that the explanation for the PLO's impressive performance against Amal was that they were better armed and funded than Amal, and their men also had more battle experience and better organization. The PLO has a gargantuan war chest — of which the report above from Jouniya is only one example. In contrast, Bailey says, Amal has had to rely on personal contributions by rich Shi'ites, both in Lebanon and throughout the Lebanese Shi'ite diaspora, and the two simply don't begin to compare. The Hizbullah, on the other hand, received significant financial support from Iran.

DR. BAILEY explains the intensity of the recent fighting by the two forces as resulting from a feeling possessed by both sides that they have nowhere else to go. The Palestinian's only stronghold in

Lebanon, and anywhere else for that matter, was in the camps. The Shi'ites for their part, are afraid that if the PLO manages to break out of the camps it will soon control the surrounding Shi'ite countryside, which in a sense would be returning to the pre-1982 situation.

He quotes from Amal battle slogans: "No return to pre-1982" and "No armed Palestinians," as embodying their current aims. By the middle of the 1970s the PLO had taken over the Shi'ite heartland in all of Southern Lebanon. That, however, was before the Shi'ites started to become politicized and organized by the long-missing Imam Musa Sadr, into the Amal organization. With this sense of new found strength and political purpose they will go to great lengths to prevent a return to the previous situation in which the PLO often terrorized their communities in the south.

Amal's aim, he says, is not to expel the Palestinian refugees from their camps to the north, but rather to disarm them so that they do not constitute a threat to the surrounding Shi'ite population. One can, of course, look at it from the other side of the barricades, too, and see that the PLO's purpose is not to expel the Shi'ite population from Southern Lebanon, either, but rather to control them so that they do not impinge on the PLO's own power base. The fact is, Bailey says, that neither side believes that it can give in to the other.

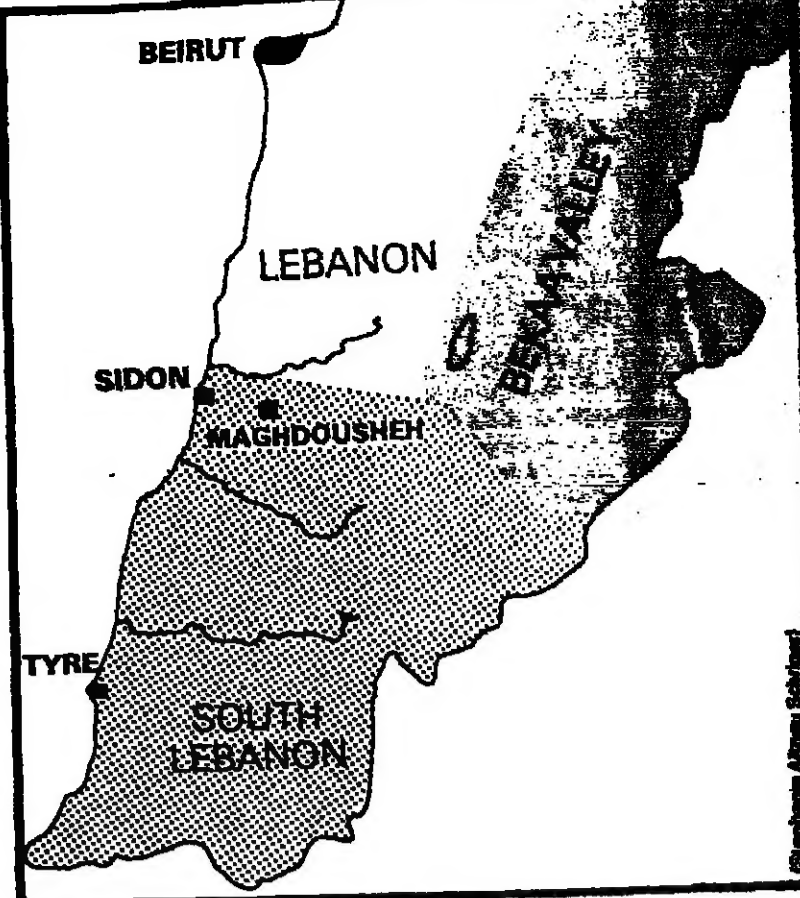
This would seem to be understandable in the south. But why in Maghdousheh outside of Sidon? Dr. Bailey says that Sidon is a city of major importance to the Shi'ites. Although the majority in the town are Sunni Muslims the Shi'ites constitute about 40 per cent of the

population, and a large majority in the immediate hinterland in the Zaharani region, for whom Sidon is the main outlet to the outside world. Maghdousheh is basically a Christian town and it holds a strategic position in control of the coastal road to Beirut. The Christian leadership there, like many of the Sunni leaders in Sidon itself, has maintained good relations with the Shi'ites and has a common interest with Amal against the return of the PLO.

Syria, Bailey says "has been playing two cards. On the one hand, it supports Amal. On the other hand, it has also supported the Salvation Front of the PLO oppositionists. The Salvation front's military units have been fighting alongside Arafat's forces in Maghdousheh, but when it comes to politics, they are subservient to the Syrians. For example, in the recent fighting, the Salvation front's Ahmed Jibril has in effect threatened Arafat to withdraw from Maghdousheh. His interest was in winning an agreement under which Amal would lift its siege of the Rashidiyeh camp and permit in much needed supplies for the Palestinian population there."

Did you understand all that, Baruch? If not, just remember that we're dealing with Lebanon. Not everything has to be consistent or reasonable, and certainly not simple.

Bailey believes that "ultimately, Syria's interest lies with the Palestinians and not with Amal. The Shi'ite Amal and Hizbullah are convenient to the Syrians as long as Israel is in the south and both Shi'ite organizations are fighting us. But Syria wants an alignment with the Palestinians on condition that Arafat comes to Damascus and becomes subservient



to it and its interests in Lebanon."

If Amal could bring the Palestinians to their knees, he believes, it would be able to assert its independence from the Syrians. But it simply does not have the forces to bring that off. What Amal will now try to do, he says, is to subdue the Palestinians in the Shatilla camp in order to free their forces for transfer to the south, which is where the bulk of the Shi'ites are.

There were also reports last week of continuing talks of a formal cantonization of the country, as a possible long-term solution to the chaos that is Lebanon. Bailey does not believe that it will come off. "The Shi'ites remain unalterably opposed to can-

tonization. That is primarily because they live in three non-contiguous parts of Lebanon — the South, the Bekaa Valley and the slums of South Beirut. They are afraid that in any geographic cantonization, parts of their population would lose out," Bailey explains.

"But beyond that, they are opposed to cantonization because they are today fully aware of their demographic preponderance in Lebanon as a whole. There are reports that speak of the Shi'ites constituting 40 per cent of the population. Cantonization could only reduce their potential power and prevent them from sharing in what the richer parts of Lebanon possess.

Last refuge for Arafat's fighters

David Rudge

IT IS just 16 kilometres as the crow flies from the Rosh Hanikra border post to the embattled Palestinian refugee camp of Rashidiyeh, south of Tyre.

A fast car could cover the distance in 15 minutes, a war plane in a lot less. Standing at the border, however, there is no outward sign of the bitter internecine fighting so near, yet so far away.

The battle for survival between Palestinians and Amal Shi'ites, that is once again staining the Lebanese soil with blood, seems so remote it could be taking place on a distant planet.

But, as so often is the case, nothing happens in Lebanon without repercussions elsewhere, especially for Israel and residents of the northern settlements. On this occasion the interim results can only be described as beneficial.

There has been a significant reduction in attempts to infiltrate the security zone, while attacks on the South Lebanese Army and the IDF have also dropped in the past two months.

Similarly the number of Katyusha rockets fired across the border has decreased substantially, according to informed South Lebanese sources.

Unfired troops too are experiencing a period of calm. Those soldiers crossing into Israel at the Rosh Hanikra post, spoke of the shelling and gunfire they had seen and heard from their lines, which are close to the Rashidiyeh camp.

Nevertheless, they stressed that the situation in their area of operations was quiet, despite the echoes of war nearby.

With Amal and Palestinian fighters locked in mortal combat, neither side has the ammunition or energy for attacks on Israeli or SLA targets.

The security forces and residents of the "confrontation-line" settlements would be happy for the present state of affairs to continue indefinitely.

"While they are hammering away at one another, they might leave us

in peace," said a resident of a front-line town near the Lebanese border.

Attempting to assess the present situation — how long the fighting will last, the outcome and the possible implications for Israel — is no easy task. In the words of one Lebanese observer, "it's a brave man who would predict what will happen in Lebanon tomorrow."

For a better appraisal of the current conflict, it is perhaps worthwhile to turn the clock back to September 1970 when the Palestinian warlords and their cohorts were expelled, battered and bleeding, from Jordan.

The PLO searched for new bases, close to Israel, from where it could continue operations against the Zionist state and its people. Lebanon, with the existing infrastructure, provided by the refugee camps, was the obvious answer.

Within the space of five years, the PLO and its proxies established a power base which they gradually extended outside the camps, ultimately forming a state within a state.

They had their own tax system, radio station, police, civil administration and a military structure second to none. With the exception of the Christians, the Palestinians were the dominant force in Lebanon at that time, lordling it over the other ethnic groups.

The Shi'ites were among those who suffered, physically and psychologically, at the hands of the Palestinians, despite an earlier alliance between the two sides.

The Shi'ites, whose Amal organization owed its inception in part to the Palestinians, came to regard their former allies as usurpers who had taken over their land and snatched from them their rights.

Amal at that time, however, did not have the money, organization or weapons to confront their enemies. In bloody clashes between the two sides towards the end of 1981 and the beginning of 1982, the Shi'ites emerged second best.

ISRAEL'S invasion of Lebanon, the

destruction of the PLO's infrastructure and expulsion of all but a small hard core of terrorists, changed the picture dramatically.

The Shi'ites were overjoyed to see the Palestinians get their comeuppance, but the euphoria with which they greeted the IDF changed to alienation as Israel, like the Palestinians, overstayed its welcome in the Land of the Cedars.

They vowed then that never again would they allow the PLO or any other armed organization, regardless of political or religious affiliations, to subjugate them. The Shi'ites have adhered to this policy, tolerating the continued presence of the Palestinian refugee camps in their sphere of influence, but not permitting external activities without prior consultation and coordination.

They set up road blocks and checkpoints around the camps in the Tyre region and, later in Beirut to prevent the return of Palestinian fighters.

"The Shi'ites had learned from bitter experience that the weapons in the hands of the Palestinians were more often used against the Lebanese population than against Israel," said an informed South Lebanese observer.

"They had paid the price twice,

losing their land and rights first to the Palestinians and then, because of the Palestinians, to the Israelis. They were not prepared to let it happen again," he said.

"This principle, as much as fear of exposing the Shi'ite population in the South to Israeli reprisals if the Palestinians were allowed a free hand, has motivated all their actions since the beginning of October," the source added.

For the Palestinians and the PLO in particular such restrictions were intolerable. Without bases from which it could attack Israel, Yasser Arafat's organization, isolated and with its prestige at an all-time low, was in danger of losing its very raison d'être. Would wealthy supporters continue to support an organization which could no longer fulfil its self-appointed mission?

It was therefore inevitable that the PLO would try to make a comeback. The Shi'ites, especially those in the south who had suffered most under the PLO regime, realized this and accordingly built up their military capability in the period following the IDF's withdrawal.

At the same time the PLO, despite Amal's precautions, covertly began to re-infiltrate the camps and rearm, using the hard core of fighters left behind after Israel's 1982 invasion.

Prior to the Lebanon War, the PLO had an estimated 20,000 troops in Lebanon, not all of whom were expelled, captured or killed. Between 1,500 and 2,000 trained fighters are believed to have escaped the clutches of the IDF by assuming civilian identities and going underground.

They were charged with the task of stockpiling arms, ammunition, food supplies and other essentials in the underground warrens of the camps and organizing combat units. Following the IDF's withdrawal in the summer of 1985, weapons and men started to flow, via the sea, back into the camps, mainly in the Sidon area.

In recent months the flow became a steady stream as the PLO sought to rebuild its power base in Lebanon, once again through the auspices of the refugee camps.

Amal leaders were aware of the build-up of Arafat loyalists, especially in the camps round Sidon. This September, the deputy chairman of Amal, A'akef Haidar, indicated the Sidon region as the most likely place for a camp war to erupt.

"There (Sidon)," he noted, "the dominant force is loyal to Yasser Arafat. We must say that Arafat can control Sidon in a matter of hours because the money and weapons are readily available to him, and the Arafat loyalists in Sidon are very strong."

Haidar, interviewed by the journal *Monday Morning*, added that the Amal leadership had persevered and participated in joint efforts with "our Palestinian brothers, the Syrians and the nationalist leaders in Sidon" to prevent an outbreak of fighting that would set the country ablaze.

"As long as we can prevent this," he said, "we will be serving a double purpose, that of preventing fighting and consolidating the joint con-

frontation with the common enemy (Israel)."

IN THE event, however, it was Amal's Shi'ites in the south who, suspicious of the PLO, instigated the conflict.

"There had been an uneasy understanding between the two sides, that the Palestinians in the camps would be able to run their affairs, but would not rearm or attempt to operate outside the camps without prior consultation with the Shi'ites," said the South Lebanese observer.

"Then in the summer, word leaked out that Arafat loyalists had infiltrated the camps near Tyre, notably Rashidiyeh, and were organizing combat units," he said.

"Amal demanded the right to search the camps for arms and ammunition, but were refused. The Palestinians added that they alone were responsible for the safety and security of those in the camps."

The Shi'ites responded by laying siege to Rashidiyeh and the neighbouring camps of El Buss and Bourj el Shamali which together house over 45,000 refugees. Fighting broke out around Rashidiyeh and over 20 died in the first month of the blockade. The casualty toll in the battles since then has risen dramatically.

The counter-offensive materialized, as Amal leaders had predicted, in the Sidon region. Arafat's forces sallied forth, for the first time since 1982, thrusting outwards to the village of Maghdousheh and hillside settlements overlooking the strategic coastal highway that connects Amal's strongholds in the predominantly Shi'ite zone of South Lebanon with the rest of the country.

The Shi'ites, whose position around Sidon has traditionally been weak, were powerless to stop the push. Subsequent efforts to dislodge the Palestinian fighters failed. All the Amal militias could do was intensify their stronghold on the refugee camps in the south and round Beirut. Squeeze and counter-squeeze.

Arafat loyalists were despatched to reinforce fighters at the beleaguered camps, especially Rashidiyeh in the south which is seen by the PLO as a key strategic position.

The Palestinians for once were united, with pro-Syrian elements fighting alongside Fatah forces. Recently, however, there have been signs of renewed strains in the relationship with the Damascus-backed Palestinian Salvation Front criticizing Arafat for impeding the path to a ceasefire.

Even so this has not stopped the PLO chairman from capitalizing on what he has described as his organization's first significant victory since 1982.

The confrontation with Amal was premature, from Arafat's point of view. He no doubt would have preferred more time to build up his forces, but when the Shi'ites blew the whistle on the PLO's activities he was forced to react.

Several expert Lebanese watchers point out that the PLO is not the force it was prior to 1982. Nevertheless, they say, its achievements against Amal should not be underestimated.

"Arafat has proved once again that the Palestinians, to use his phrase, are the odd number in the Middle East equation. In the Lebanese context, this means that negotiated settlements cannot be reached without taking the PLO into consideration. This is bound to increase Arafat's standing politically," said the Lebanese observer.

The Shi'ites, on the other hand, have also shown their mettle, proving remarkably resilient, not just on the battlefield but in adhering to their guiding principle of being allowed to control their own affairs.

They have resisted pressure from their own leaders in Beirut, as well as the Iranians and the Syrians, to lift the siege of the camps in return for the withdrawal of the Palestinian



PLO group in action near Sidon.

forces from the heights round Maghdousheh.

The Shi'ites of South Lebanon have made it clear in no uncertain terms that they are not prepared to live under the Palestinians' thumb once more.

The issue for the PLO is quite simply survival. Its forces have no place to go if Lebanon is closed to them.

FOR THE time being, the two sides are deadlocked, neither being able to defeat the other, on the battlefield or politically. The only winners, at this stage, appear to be Israel and the SLA who are enjoying something of a gratuitous respite from military action in the security zone.

Several observers have noted that the reduction in attacks on SLA and IDF targets is in itself significant. "It indicates that the PLO was far more involved in actions inside the security zone than had been suspected," said an informed South Lebanese source.

"The PLO had some kind of tactical alliance with the extremist Shi'ite Hizbullah. The PLO was probably behind many of the attacks and attempts at infiltration, but it allowed the Hizbullah to take the credit," he said.

In this way, said the source, the PLO had been able to show its followers and close supporters that it was still active, while staying out of the limelight and continuing the task of building up its bases in the south.

How long the respite will last is anybody's guess. Israeli military experts anticipate that the present situation, vis-a-vis the security zone and the border, will continue for the present.

"We expect the number of attacks and attempted infiltrations in the security zone, as well as the firing of rockets across the border, to remain at about the same level. That is in the short term," said a military observer.

The real problem would occur if the two sides reach some kind of agreement. Then we would expect certain groups to intensify their efforts against us," he said.

There are also other factors which have recently been added to the Lebanese equation and which could pose problems in the longer term.

SLA commander General Antoine Lahad highlighted some of these points in a recent interview with Israel Television. He noted that the PLO, despite taking a severe beating, had fared much better than could have been expected and even seemed to have the edge over the Amal militia.

Second, and perhaps more important, in the long term was the increased activity and presence of Iranian officials in the region. Lahad expressed concern that more and more Shi'ites might be enticed to join the ranks of the Iranian-backed Hizbullah, which at present is co-operating with the Palestinians. Such an alliance, he warned, could have far-reaching consequences for the security of the buffer zone and Israel's northern border.

Certainly the Iranians, who have

always had a presence alongside the Syrians in the Bekaa valley, are playing a very up-front role, apparently in an attempt to gain a foothold in South Lebanon.

Reports emanating from Lebanon speak of Iranian officials and religious leaders everywhere, speaking to the people, as well as the political heads.

They appear to have stepped into the vacuum created by Syria's inability to negotiate a ceasefire. The Iranians have also failed so far, but not through lack of trying.

Lahad's concern about the possible effects of the Iranian influence on the south's Shi'ite population is shared by some Israeli observers.

They maintain that the Iranians' embassies over the American arms sales revelations is only a temporary setback. It would not be hard, the argument goes, for the religious fundamentalists to convince new followers of the justice of using American arms against the very people who supplied them, Israel.

OTHER experts on Lebanese affairs view the situation differently. They contend that the majority of Shi'ites in the south are more concerned about their daily lives, homes and villages. The question of Israel and the rights of the Palestinians is a pan-Arab problem and not their immediate concern.

These people, the counter-argument runs, will continue to support the presence of Unifil, because it is presently in their interests to do so, while awaiting the opportunity to drive the last vestige of the Israeli presence from the Lebanese landscape.

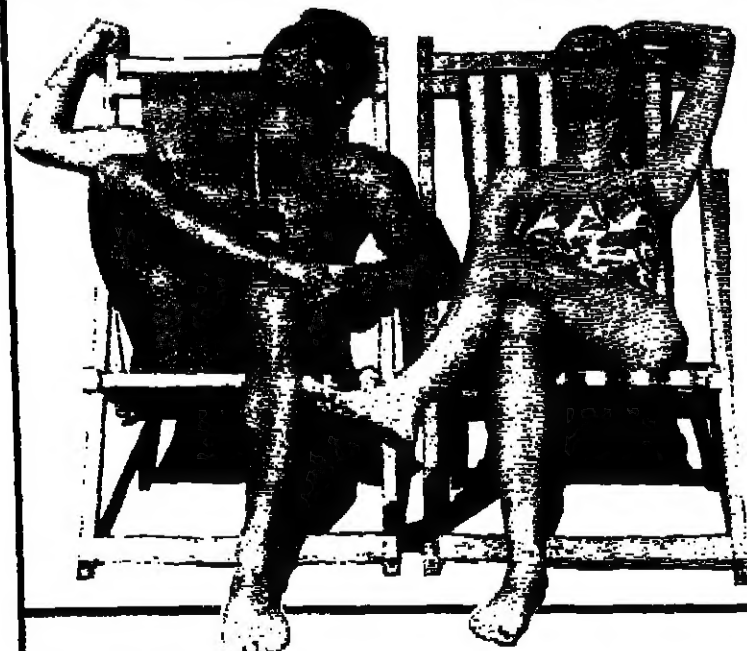
Nevertheless, the experts add that the Shi'ites might be spurred into taking action against SLA and Israeli targets, if only to counter charges that they are protecting Israel by fighting the Palestinians.

The Israeli aerial and naval bombardments of Palestinian positions recently were seized upon by opponents of the Shi'ites as conclusive proof of Amal-Israeli collusion. The southern Lebanese Shi'ites are reportedly still smarting from the allegations, although so far they have taken no direct action against Israel or the SLA.

In the long term, the Lebanese observers believe that the situation in south-west Lebanon, where Amal is the dominant force, will remain relatively quiet. They expect to see an increase in anti-Israel activity in the east, however, from the Hizbullah, PLO, Syrian-backed factions and splinter groups like the Lebanese communist party which claimed responsibility for last week's abortive attempt to hit an SLA headquarters in the village of Houleh. Two terrorists were killed in that attempt.

The experts are generally agreed on one point, however: in the geographical region known as the Lebanon, with its volatile mixture of politics, religion and local loyalties, it is always advisable to expect the unexpected. Anything can happen and probably will.

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What the police learnt from the unrest

Alan Ben-Ami

THE RECENT spate of knife attacks by terrorists in Jerusalem and Gaza are essentially "isolated incidents," says Police Minister Haim Bar-Lev. He sees them as an indication of the ebb and flow of terrorist activity over the years.

Overall, he says, Israel is in a better situation than most Western countries when it comes to the level of crime and murder with which it is expected to deal.

"There is no single way to end terrorism and for all," he argues. "Terror is a situation I have been living with since I arrived in this country. The use of knives in individual attacks is relatively new—but like other terrorist activities, it, too, will lead nowhere. We cannot be driven away from here, nor can we expel the Arabs, and there is nothing for it but to find a way to live together."

Following the fatal stabbing of yeshiva student Eliahu Amedi in Jerusalem's Old City and the knife attack on 66-year-old David Lipschitz on his way home from evening prayers at the Western Wall last Friday, Bar-Lev said additional forces had been brought into the city to deal with whatever situation arises, whether Arab terrorism or extremist reaction from Jews.

He stressed that residents of Jerusalem and elsewhere have no need for undue concern about their security.

"Comparing statistics with other countries, we have about one-fifth the number of killings in America—one-third of the number in England. Only Japan and Sweden are slightly better situated than we are," he says.

The police minister reports that country-wide, there have been significant declines in murder, rape and theft over the last year. (See box)

"The best way to deal with these crimes, reduce them or prevent them altogether, is by our presence on the ground."

"In the war against terror though, intelligence efforts are usually the prime factor."

"However the knife attacks are presenting us with a different situation. The perpetrators are not organized as a group or identified with a particular terrorist organization, although their motives are nationalistic."

"In such cases, intelligence can contribute little with regard to warning or prevention, and the main thrust of our efforts must also be an increased presence."

Bar-Lev is not prepared to give any indication of how many additional policemen or Border Police have been drafted into Jerusalem—but he says, "There are a lot of police in the capital today."

The police minister welcomes a proposal raised earlier this week by Minister of Justice and Tourism Avraham Shari, for Jerusalem's Arab and Jewish residents to get together and set up joint, unarmed patrols, which would move around the city with the aim of preventing and deterring acts of crime and terror. That proposal, however, has brought no practical response from residents, and Bar-Lev acknowledges that the main effort and responsibility for security is with the police.

"We shall do our job," he says, warning extremists on both sides to think twice. "There is the same law for every resident in the country, and it will be applied equally," Bar-Lev insists. "It is known that there are

extremists among the Jews, and they too must be made aware that if they don't uphold law and order, then the police and courts will act accordingly."

He brushes aside criticism voiced by both Jews and Arabs, claiming that the police have been soft or selective in their attitudes towards law-breakers on one side or the other.

"I'm quite used to having people complain bitterly when police activity is directed towards them or theirs, but who call loudly for action when someone else is involved. When the situation or the facts warrant it, we will do what has to be done—and not act just because some individual thinks it's necessary."

Bar-Lev defended police actions during the week of anti-Arab violence that followed the killing of Eliahu Amedi, and said he, himself, was in constant phone contact during his travels abroad that week and did not feel his return home would have contributed anything more to the way the police dealt with the situation.

However, he says, the police have learned some lessons from the events of that week, one of which is to ban demonstrations from the Old City in the future. And he warns that the police will show no tolerance for rioters anywhere.

The police minister rejects calls for the death penalty in Israel against terrorists—saying this will simply offer the terrorist organizations the opportunity to announce a "tit-for-tat" policy in which they will threaten to execute Israelis they are holding. "If they have no Israelis, it will not be difficult for them to grab an Israeli, a Jew, or even, say, an American citizen from somewhere in the world and threaten to kill them if we go ahead. We shall find ourselves in an impossible predicament," he says.

However he is in favour of sealing the homes or deporting family members of terrorists. "You could say this is 'collective punishment'—but in fact it is very selective," he says. "And experience has shown it to be a proven deterrent."

Bar-Lev rejects collective punishment where houses, people and businesses in the area of an attack will suffer. "Not all of these people are guilty, and such a policy can be counter-productive, generating opposition and rebellion because people will be able to claim that no matter whether they are involved or not, they are going to suffer."

Nor does he accept that everyone in the immediate vicinity of a terrorist attack will have necessarily seen or heard what happened. The police minister revealed that when 66-year-old David Lipschitz was stabbed last Friday night, two Jews were walking about 10 metres behind him, another one was a short distance ahead of him, and a police car was parked at a nearby corner. "Not one of them saw anything," he said.

No official details are available of what firearms are held by Jewish settlers in the territories for self-defence. The issue has been highlighted by the fatal shooting of a young Arab this month. Joel Greenberg reports.

Guns galore

DURING last week's unrest in the West Bank and Gaza Strip, a settler was seen on television shooting in the air to disperse demonstrators near the al-Amari refugee camp south of Ramallah. After a complaint by the Knesset Member Rabin ordered that the man be located and questioned.

Following the mysterious death of a boy from the Balata refugee camp in the recent disturbances, the security forces are now conducting an inquiry into this. They have been checking an account according to which shots were fired from a car near the camp which was carrying Israeli civilians and soldiers.

Last year, after a series of attacks on Jewish civilians in Israel and the territories, settlers organized armed vigilante patrols in Arab towns in the West Bank and Gaza Strip.

In Nablus three years ago, a settler pursuing stone-throwers ran into a bakery and shot dead a girl.



(Mike Gindberg)

tain depots of army-issue weapons for use by settlers to guard their communities, and for self defence while travelling in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. No official figures are available but the number of guns is estimated as roughly equivalent to the number of households in each settlement.

Weapons in settlement depots also serve settlers when they are on reserve duty in their area of residence. Thus the adult male population of any settlement has constant access to the weapons, whether as reservists serving in the area, or as civilians guarding the settlement as part of a regional defence system in coordination with the army. Many men in West Bank settlements, in fact, were transferred to reserve units serving in the areas near their homes during the term of Rafael Eitan as chief of general staff.

The depots are supervised in each settlement by a local resident responsible for security. He originally signs out the weapons from the army, and in turn signs the guns out to individual settlers, with a notation of the number of the guns and name of the person to whom it is issued. Specific approval for possession of a weapon is granted to each settler by the military commander of the area. The permit must be renewed every half year and is issued according to criteria determined by the army.

Settlers signing out weapons must also sign that they have read and understood the army's instructions regarding the possession and use of weapons in the territories. In some cases these instructions are posted on billboards in the settlements. The instructions cover a number of pages, and can be chiefly summarized as restricting the use of weapons to instances when they are needed for self-defence, when a person's safety and well-being is endangered.

The precise interpretation of what poses a threat to safety and well-being varies from case to case, and is not specifically spelled out in the instructions. It is ultimately determined by a settler who chooses to open fire. Cases in which settlers are deemed to have fired without reasonable cause are subject to investigation by the army.

Control of these army-issue weapons is maintained through periodic inspections of the settlements by the army.

Aside from signing out weapons from the settlement weapons depot, settlers serving in reserve units in areas outside the territories may receive permission from their units to sign out a rifle to take home after their reserve stint.

Settlers may also carry personal weapons, usually pistols which the settlers purchase with a licence issued by the Ministry of Interior—a procedure similar to that followed by Israelis living inside Israel. Any firing of such a weapon must be reported to the army.

SETTLER SECURITY officials insist that despite incidents of weapons misuse by settlers, the guns are generally carried and used in strict adherence to army regulations. They say weapons can be easily traced to their users, and are only in certain cases distributed in groups such as when a security official gives out guns which rotate among yeshiva students on guard duty at their settlement.

The army's coordination of security in the West Bank and Gaza Strip with the settlers has led to concern among some observers and politicians that the settlers will abuse their privilege to carry arms and act out their anti-Arab feelings. These concerns were heightened last week when a career officer living in a West Bank settlement near Ramallah admitted to shooting one of the two students killed by IDF troops during a violent demonstration at Bir Zeit University, two weeks ago. The soldier insisted he shot through gun-sights at the students' legs after firing dozens of rubber bullets, but some reserve soldiers serving with him suspected his motive was more than self-defence.

The rationale for permitting settlers to carry arms was summed up recently by one settlement security official: "We're here in the area, and since the army realizes it can't put a soldier on every rooftop, it permits us to use arms in self-defence under very specific circumstances."

The system is ultimately based on trust. We're not out to rob banks, or enforce law and order; we have full faith in the army to do that. The army also usually approves the issue of weapons to people here because it knows their background. This is not a criminal population. The arms are basically used to guard our homes, just like the weapons issued to other frontier settlements."

A veteran observer of the settlement scene said this week that, despite the official controls, the depots at the settlements, under the day-to-day control of the settlers themselves, are in fact "wide open," and distribution of weapons is susceptible to abuse.

CRIME: THE FIGURES

Crime around the country (Jerusalem in brackets) by number of new files.

Category	Jan.-Nov. 1986	Jan.-Nov. 1985	% change
Murder	66	79	-16.5
Assault	7,098 (464)	7,257 (442)	-2.2 (+5.0)
Rape	450 (84)	440 (49)	+2.3 (+71)
Burglaries (homes)	27,914 (3,327)	32,177 (4,259)	-14.1 (-52.4)
Burglaries (businesses)	14,710 (1,472)	15,935 (1,440)	-13.2 (-21.9)
Car thefts	11,386 (866)	11,924 (996)	-7.7 (+2.2)
Drug dealings	1,923 (299)	1,685 (367)	-4.5 (-13.1)
Other drug offences	2,723 (346)	2,361 (255)	+15.3 (+35.7)

The Iranian Nights

Laughing it off—Larry Lefkowitz

FIRST it was only Israel (after the main actor the United States): small and alone on the stage of what now has come to be called "Irangate." "Persiashar" sounds more poetic, but American journalists cannot be expected to be attuned to the resonances of the East. The English, since *Seven Pillars of Wisdom*, are better attuned. Lawrence Durrell titled one of the Four Pillars of his *Alexandria Quartet* "Balthazar." A variant, Belshazzar, was also the name of the king for whom the hand writ on the wall: Mene, Mene, Tekel Upharsin, of which Tekel is here most relevant: "Thou art weighed in the balances and art found wanting." Nowadays presidents have largely replaced kings, and for one the handwriting on the wall is yet to be finalized.

The three remaining Pillars of Wisdom for the British government (later "implicated" in also sending arms to Iran) being: "See no evil, hear no evil, do no evil"—and if you do have to engage in it label it "spare parts."

First Israel, then Britain, later Saudi Arabia—maybe to insinuate an "Arab presence" in response to the Israeli one. In fact, one of the signs auguring well (augury, as innumerable sheep livers can testify, is an old Eastern art. Americans rely on newfangled, unproven techniques, such as the crystal ball) for the peace process is the putative cooperation between a Saudi representative, the Israelis and the Americans (according to the Saudi representative's version of events). This version is only one of the many versions:

there are more tales within tales in the Iranian arms affair than in *The Thousand and One Nights*. In that epic, Sheherazade saved her neck with the skill of her telling; President Reagan may be able to save his via the same route. I speak figuratively—literal decapitations are reserved for Saudi Arabia, hangings for Iran. In the U.S., it is one's tail that is most often in jeopardy.

According to the Saudi representative's version, two Israelis negotiated with the Iranians posing as Americans. This is hard to believe. The two Israelis presumably possess Israeli accents (not having been *shilhim* for an extended length of time) and either the Iranians were extremely credulous or extremely dense. (Or perhaps the men were Israelis of Persian descent, in which

case their accents would subliminally lull the Iranians into a false sense of security.) Of course, the version is a Saudi one and may be simply an attempt to set the cat among the pigeons. Or, Middle Easternly speaking, the scorpions among the camels. (This latter formulation will also avoid irritating the Egyptians for whom the cat was once sacred; they are irritated enough over the U.S.'s sending arms to Iran.)

Reports of other countries' involvements in the Iranian affair began to descend thicker than a sandstorm and more obfuscating than a fog in Foggy Bottom. France, Denmark, Portugal and so forth. The last to claim an honoured place (so far) is Canada.

Soon it will become necessary for those few countries not involved to

step forward and clearly state the fact, the sin of omission being less than that of commission. In the end (assuming there is an end—like the serpent with its tail in its mouth, it is hard to know when we have come full circle) non-involvement will come down to Iran itself and, presumably, Iraq, which is at war with Iran. "Presumably" because in the Middle East, and especially in this affair, there are more whirring than dervishes.

To paraphrase an old Persian dervish named Khayyam:

For "Is" and "Is-not" though with Rule and Line
And "Up-and-down" by Logic I define,
Of all that one should care to fathom, I
Was never deep in anything but
slime.

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9:30-10 a.m.: Registration
10 a.m.: Introduction
10:15-11:15 a.m.: Historical Heroines of Hanukkah
11:15-11:30 a.m.: Esther Karnov Nitov — Lecturer at Jerusalem College for Adults and at Machon Ora
11:30 a.m.—12:30 p.m.: Coffee Break
Panel Discussion
Moderator: Leah Abramowitz-Social Worker Geriatric Center at Shaare Zedek; Freelance Writer The Jerusalem Post.

Panelists
Career and Family — Cissie Chalkovskiy, principal and founder of Ulpina in Mevasseret. Family as a Career — Shifra Slater-B.E.D., Yeshiva University; B.A. Queens College.
Midlife Challenge — Adina Katzot-M.S.W., Post-Master Certificate in Psychoanalytic Child and Family Care, Chicago Inst. of Psychoanalysis; Teacher in the Gov't. Training Inst. of Social Workers, Jerusalem.

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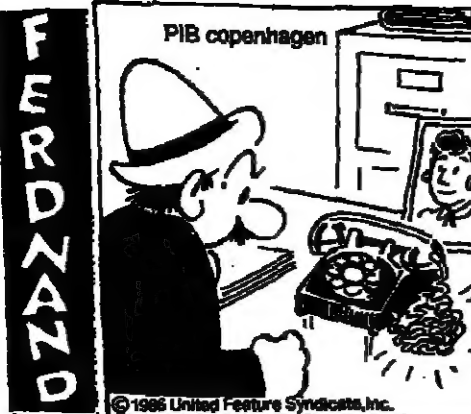
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Tora Today/Pinhas Peli

The Tora reading for this week is Vayishlah (Genesis 32:4 to 36:43)

Jews, a people with a long memory, often consider the past not only to learn it, but also to judge it and take a personal stand towards it. In the 13th century, a heated debate took place, in writing, between two of the greatest medieval Tora authorities, Rabbi Moshe ben Maimon (Maimonides) of Fostat, Egypt, and Rabbi Moshe ben Nahman (Nahmanides) of Gerona, Spain. The issue which they were debating occurred two and a half millennia before their time; it carries much relevance in our own days.

The story is considered by all standards to be one of the "minor" incidents in the lives of the Patriarchs and the people of Israel. It is told in Genesis chapter 34. As Jacob and his family come back from Paddan-Aram to the land of Israel, after passing peacefully the overbearing moments of anxiety and danger caused by the initial confrontation with Esau and his 400 armed men, an unpleasant incident occurs.

Obviously it concerned merely the private life of one young woman, but it was given elaborate mention in the Tora narrative. Not only because Tora considers the life of one single individual precious enough to deal with, even while occupied with the story of an entire community, but because of the implications this incident had at the particular time in which it happened and, as we shall see, for all future times, up to our own.

It is the story of Dinah, the daughter of Jacob, and Leah, who "went out to see the daughters of the land," when Jacob's family encamped at the outskirts of the city of Shechem. "And Shechem the son of Hamor, the prince of the land, saw her; and he loved her." The rape of Dinah is not the end of the story. Being strongly drawn to the maiden, the

young prince of the land falls in love with her, speaks to her tenderly and says to his father Hamor: "Get me this girl for a wife."

What would not the old Hamor do for his spoiled son? He goes to Jacob, whose acquaintance he had made recently during a business transaction, when he sold him for a good 100 kisia the piece of land on which Jacob pitched his tent. It is at this point that both the story and the trouble begin.

To understand what was going on, we must read the Tora narrative very carefully and keep in mind that it was presented on several levels. This kind of reading will leave us, I believe, ambivalent as to the attitude of Tora itself (or of the Divine Will) that Tora represents to the dramatic events that follow. The ethical dilemmas which the story raises remain unsolved, hence the debate 2,500 years later between Maimonides and Nahmanides and the opinions expressed by a legion of other Tora commentators.

Were the sons of Jacob right when they spoke "with guile" and tricked the people of Shechem into circumcising themselves as a pre-condition for giving their sister into marriage to Shechem? Did Jacob agree with them at that point and became angry only afterwards when Simeon and Levi, Dinah's brothers, exploited the situation, exercising cruel "overkill" towards all the people of Shechem? Was Jacob morally indignant with their act, as would seem from the strong disapproval directed at Simeon and Levi in his "last words" prior to his death (Gen. 49:5-7), or was he merely condemning their act as being highly irresponsible from a tactical point of view, out of fear of the expected retaliation by the neighbouring peoples which he might not be able to repel at this stage of settling in the land?

MAIMONIDES AND Nahmanides in the 13th century pick up the discussion at its moral and legal points. How could Simeon and Levi

inflict a "collective penalty" on all the people of Shechem while the rule of law is that only those culpable should be punished. Maimonides, usually not associated with "nationalism," would surprisingly argue in this case (Yad, *hiluk melakhim*, 9:14) that the collective punishment on all the people of Shechem was justified because they had not intervened to stop the evil of rape and robbery, when they could have done so. Complacency made them accomplices to the crime. Nahmanides repudiates this view in his very strong argumentative language in his commentary on the Tora.

This for sure was not merely an academic legal argument. It involved many more complicated issues, such as the danger inherent in intermarriage; the relationship with hostile neighbours; the right approach and extent of the response to provocative acts of violence and above all the question of how to deal with the seizure of hostages. It brings back the perennial debate between the extremists and moderates over the tactics that will yield the best results.

Jacob, the veteran and experienced patriarch, who in the past dealt with such fierce antagonists as Laban and Esau, had no clear stand on this matter. Reading the story carefully we shall discover that, in fact, Jacob would perhaps like his sons to make the decisions themselves (verse 3). We must not forget that at the time of the negotiations Dinah was still held hostage at the house of Shechem (she was not released until after the massacre, see verse 26) and the burning issue was not the long range policy, but the immediate release of the hostage.

On this point Jacob was as eager to see this happen and was ready, just as much as were his sons, to use all means to bring this about. He did not utter one word of protest when in his presence his sons tricked the Shechemites into circumcising themselves. As in all such negotiations, it was not a one-sided trickery act. Hamor and Shechem, the negotiators for the other side, were sure on their part that they tricked the Israelites and not vice versa. They accepted a

mutual understanding, fair and acceptable to both sides; but for "home consumption," when reporting to their people, they tell a different story (verse 23), "their (the Israelites') cattle and their substance and all their beasts shall be ours."

Only when everything is over does Jacob voice his sharp criticism at the exaggerated massacre which was accompanied by ugly scenes of plunder and the seizure of booty. Is Tora on the side of Jacob or of his sons? There is no direct indication. But the fact that the story is interspersed throughout with the words of the sons of Jacob that motivated their extreme act (verses 7, 13, 27) serves as a counterpoint to Jacob's protest which Tora clearly wished to place on record. It seems that Tora intended to leave this debate open and not to take one-sided decision in favour of either the extreme or moderate policies in the dealing with rape and terror. On moral principle it seems to be siding with Jacob, but in the actual narrative of the story, the point of the younger generation is also well taken. The last word in the story is not the regret of Jacob (verse 30), but the outrage of his sons (verse 31).

Abraham (1437-1508) goes even further in suggesting that the story continues into the next chapter. As a response to the fears expressed by Jacob that the extreme act of Simeon and Levi would cause the neighbours to "gather themselves together against me and smite me and I shall be destroyed," we are told indirectly that the opposite happened. The "strong hand" demonstrated by the sons of Jacob against the Shechemites resulted (chapter 35, verse 5) in that "they (the Israelites) journeyed and a mighty fear was upon the cities round about them, and they did not pursue after the sons of Jacob." The violent acts at Shechem did not breed more violence, but deterred further terror. Thus, both Jacob's moral indignation and Simeon's and Levi's acts are given equal representation.

Rabbi Peli is professor of Jewish Thought and Literature, Ben-Gurion University.

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SOCCER

Betar encounter desperate Netanya

By PAUL KOHN
TEL AVIV. - Two Tel Aviv derby games will be played at Bloomfield Stadium tomorrow, but the main attractions may well turn out to be in Netanya and Petah Tikva.

League leaders Betar Jerusalem travel to Netanya's new stadium to face Maccabi Netanya. Kick off is at 2.30 p.m.

Maccabi have won only two points in their last six games, dropping them to a precarious 13th position in the league standings, while Betar have won their last three games.

But Betar's last three games were all at Bloomfield, which is now considered their "home" ground. In their last foray out of Tel Aviv, Betar lost 1-0 in Beersheba.

Maccabi Netanya will be very determined to halt their slide, and, if their management can persuade the highly talented Shalom Tikva to take the field despite their dispute with him, their attack may spell danger to the Betar defence.

If the weather turns sunny, Malmilian, Eli Champs, Vandermolen, Sami Malka and Shlomo Shirazi should bring the Netanya fans out, not to mention the Jerusalem supporters who'll make the trip.

By the time they take the field, Betar Jerusalem will know if Bnei Yehuda have narrowed the points gap. It stands at five now, but this afternoon the Hatikva Quarter team is scheduled to play in Petah Tikva against the local Maccabi. If Bnei Yehuda can repeat their sparkling

performance of midweek, when they beat Hapoel Petah Tikva 3-1, Maccabi are likely to be at the receiving end of things from Moshe Eisenberg, David Gordan, Ehud Ben Tovim and Michel Dayan, especially as they will be weakened by the absence of their star striker, Doron Rabinson.

At the same ground tomorrow, Hapoel Petah Tikva return home to play Maccabi Haifa. The teams are level on points, two points behind Bnei Yehuda. Petah Tikva manager Giora Spiegel expects this encounter to be as "one of the toughest" for his young team, as he rates the Haifa side highly.

In theory, they are one of the best teams in the National League, but so far this season they have not lived up

to their potential, mainly because Zahi Armeli and Moshe Selektor have not been knocking in the goals. Daniel Brailovsky has been doing Trojan work as a schemer, but the team desperately need Baruch Maman back in action. He will still be missing from the line-up tomorrow because of internal disciplinary measures due to his quarrel with coach Shlomo Sherf.

Rapid Tel Aviv should return to winning ways at the expense of Betar Tel Aviv in the 1 p.m. game at Bloomfield, but the clash between Maccabi Tel Aviv and Shimon Shitrit should be a close fought affair. It starts at 3 p.m.

Other fixtures:
Beersheba v Hapoel Lod - Beersheba 2.30 p.m.
Maccabi Jaffa v Yavne - Caes Stadium 2.30 p.m.
Hapoel Kfar Sava v Betar Netanya - Kfar Sava 2.30 p.m.

Disciplinary committee treats Avi Cohen gently, imposes two week ban, ends captaincy

By PAUL KOHN
TEL AVIV. - A disciplinary committee of Maccabi Tel Aviv has decided to take the captaincy of the team from Avi Cohen for the rest of the season. Cohen has also been banned from playing in the team's next two games, so he will not be in the line-up in tomorrow's crucial game against Shimon.

These disciplinary steps were taken against Cohen, following his refusal to play with the team last Saturday in the important match against Betar Jerusalem. Cohen announced his decision not to take the field only on Saturday morning, as by then a new contract between him and Maccabi Tel Aviv had not been signed as planned.

Cohen, who was present at the hearings on Wednesday night, made no comment on its ruling.

A member of the three man disciplinary committee, Amnon Sidi, said later that Cohen told the committee that he was injured on Saturday. This declaration was not accepted. "As captain of the team he should set an example to all. We did not expect or accept this kind of behaviour from Avi Cohen, but, because of his exemplary past as a sportsman, we gave him a relatively light punishment," Sidi said.

As far as the disciplinary committee was concerned, the issue was now closed, Sidi said. But that did not seem to be the case with Eldad Bukshpan, the chairman of Maccabi Tel Aviv, who on Saturday night said Cohen's action could mean a break



MACCABI TEL AVIV'S ACHILLES. - Avi Cohen is still sulking in his tent. (Guthmann)

between him and the club. Bukshpan clearly thinks that the disciplinary committee let the player off too lightly, as he had anticipated that Cohen would be barred from playing until the end of the season or that a heavy fine would be imposed on him.

As Bukshpan is the man who has to sign the new contract with Cohen, there might well be further delay in bringing the affair to a close.

The wound caused by Maccabi Tel Aviv in refusing to let Cohen accept a three-year contract with Glasgow Rangers at the start of the season has not yet healed. Asked at the committee hearing whether he wanted to apologise for his action last Saturday, Cohen said "I have no comment."

As far as Maccabi Tel Aviv supporters are concerned, Avi Cohen struck the team and then a heavy blow by his impulsive decision not to take the field against Betar Jerusalem. They turned out in their thousands, most of them getting drenched on a very wet afternoon in Jaffa, hoping to see him play a central role in holding back the Betar juggernaut. In his absence, Maccabi Tel Aviv lost 2-1, and dropped to 7th place in the league.

None can deny that only in occasional matches this season has Avi played like he used to in the days of old, when he was the commander-in-chief of the Maccabi Tel Aviv defence and an inspiration to the younger players in the team. Clearly, Avi's distress at not being given a chance to play for Glasgow Rangers has had a detrimental effect on his game.

EUROPEAN SOCCER

Real Madrid seek brighter fortunes

LONDON (Reuters). - While the rest of Europe's footballers prepare to don thermal underwear, gloves or woollen tights in a bid to keep out the cold, Real Madrid will enjoy the pleasurable feel of the sun on their backs this weekend.

Las Palmas in the Canary Islands, where the December temperature hovers around 22 centigrade, is one of football's most idyllic outposts and the ideal spot for Real to rediscover their energetic brand of football.

A lacklustre 1-0 victory over Murcia in the Bernabeu Stadium on Wednesday night took Real to within one point of league leaders Barcelona, who were held to a goalless draw at Santander.

But they will need to show some improvement on Sunday. Despite Las Palmas' lowly league position of 13th, they are no soft touch at home where they have taken 13 points out of a possible 16 this season.

Mexican Hugo Sanchez's 17th goal was the winner against Murcia, but the Real attack badly missed injured World Cup striker Emilio Butragueno, who is standing by to return after a knee injury.

Barcelona were fortunate to salvage even one point from their trip to Santander and they face a tricky home fixture against sixth-place Real Mallorca, who have been the surprise team of the year in Spain.

Veteran goalkeeper Pedro Alonso was Santander's hero in the first half, repeatedly felling British strikers Mark Hughes and Gary Lineker.

Spain scored in third place with a 2-1 win over Atletico Madrid. Miguel Pineda scored both of their goals in the 16th and 68th minutes.

In the French First Division, Olympique Marseille and Bordeaux have a last chance to gain a clear lead on Saturday before the league programme takes a two-month winter break.

Respective victories over Racing Club Paris and Nice left the leaders equal on points and goal difference but with Marseille ahead because they have scored one more goal.

Marseille moved to second, who came down to earth on Wednesday with a 2-0 defeat at Toulouse after beating third-placed Monaco last weekend.

Bordeaux, champions for the past two seasons, travel to Toulon, who climbed off the bottom run with a 1-0 win at Sochaux.

In Milan, Internazionale Milan drew 0-0 with Dukla Prague of Czechoslovakia in their European Football Union (UEFA) Cup first round, second leg tie.

Inter won 1-0 on aggregate. The match had to be replayed after fog forced it to be abandoned last week.

Maradona crowned

BUENOS AIRES (Reuters). - Diego Maradona, the pocket-sized soccer genius who led Argentina to victory in the World Cup last June, has been named his nation's Sportsman of the Year.

Vice President Victor Martinez handed the Olimpia de Oro award of the Argentine Sports Writers Association to Maradona. It is only the third time in 32 years that a soccer star has won the award.

Maradona was hailed the world's greatest player since Brazilian legend Pelé after a series of superlative displays at the Mexico World Cup finals.

BOXING

Witherspoon KO'd again - drugs, taxes

NEW YORK (AP). - Tim Witherspoon, who lost his heavyweight title on a first-round knockout to James "Bonecrusher" Smith last Friday, failed both pre and post-fight drug tests, according to Jose Torres, chairman of the New York State Athletic Commission.

Torres said the tests revealed marijuana in Witherspoon's system and that he would take action against the former World Boxing Association champion next week.

After Witherspoon won the title on a 15-round decision over Tony Tubbs last January at Atlanta, a post-fight test revealed marijuana in Witherspoon's system. He was fined \$25,000 by the WBA and ordered to give Tubbs a rematch.

The rematch was to have been held Friday night at Madison Square Garden, but Tubbs withdrew, saying he had injured his left shoulder in training.

Tubbs has failed to complete an examination given by an orthopedic specialist here last week, Torres said.

It took Witherspoon only 1 minute, 12 seconds to lose his title to Smith, but his troubles arising out of the bout aren't over yet. Hours before the fight, the Internal Revenue Service filed a claim against his \$300,000-dollar prize demanding \$180,148 in back taxes. And then the drug tests indicated marijuana in Witherspoon's system.

Witherspoon's attorney, Dennis Richards, told the New York Daily News he had spoken to Witherspoon and said: "Tim absolutely and categorically denied smoking marijuana."



DOWN AND OUT. - Tim Witherspoon hits the canvas after taking one on the point of the jaw from James "Bonecrusher" Smith. His troubles did not end on the canvas. (Reuters)

DAVIS CUP

Sweden aim at hat-trick

MELBOURNE (Reuters). - Winners of the last two Davis Cup finals, Sweden take on Australia in next week's 1986 final - and they want revenge.

Australia upset Sweden in the 1983 final, and the memory still rankles the Swedes, but Swedish captain Hans Olsson warns Australia they will face fiercer opposition in next week's final than when the two squads last met.

Olsson said his team of Stefan Edberg, Anders Jarryd, Joakim Nyström and Mikael Pernfors were much more experienced and had more of a routine than the side of three years ago.

"They are also more used to grass court play than the team last time," he said.

On the Australian side, veteran Peter McNamara is a surprise choice for the opposing foursome.

McNamara, 31, joins Australian number one Pat Cash, John Fitzgerald and Paul McNamee for the Davis Cup final at Atlanta.

The Swedes also announced a surprise player switch, replacing Mats Wilander, their number one racket and third best in the world.

Olsson admitted the Swedes would miss two-time Australian Open champion Wilander, absent because of his forthcoming marriage in South Africa.

"I wanted him to be here very much and he wanted to be here, but he couldn't," Olsson said.

"But I think we have a chance. Sweden have shown they are very good when it is a question of Davis Cup. It is a little the same for both teams."

Meanwhile, frictions have upset preparations on the Swedish squad. Kent Carlsson refused to travel with the team to Australia after a financial dispute with the Swedish Tennis Federation, Swedish newspapers reported.

Carlsson had promised to join the team as a reserve and training partner to the four regulars.

Carlsson, the star of the two-time defending champions' 4-1 rout of Czechoslovakia in the semifinals last October, failed to show up when the bulk of the team left Stockholm on Tuesday.

Carlsson decided to skip the trip when he heard that the regular players each had been given one free round-trip airplane ticket for their wives or girlfriends, the newspaper Expressen reported.

The Swedish Tennis Federation, citing financial reasons, did not give any extra ticket to Carlsson. The player had planned to take his father along.

RUGBY

French army side lambast Israel

PARIS. - In the first game of their French tour, Israel's national rugby side suffered a 50-9 pasting at the hands of a flashy, and at times nasty, French Army XV team.

Steady rains and whipping winds made playing conditions difficult at the Bois de Boulogne stadium. Despite the generally friendly 200 strong crowd, scattered jeering and cries of "Palestine, Palestine" could be heard.

Less than ten minutes into the match, Israel found themselves trailing 10-0 to the skilled and physical French team. By halftime, the hosts had mounted a 30-0 lead on the strength of an overpowering pack,

which provided clean and consistent service to their small but crafty back line; Lynchpin of which was fly-half Frank Mesnel, who represented France recently against the All Blacks.

Israel first put points on the scoreboard early in the second half, following a 35-metre penalty by full-back Offi Halevy. Scrum-half Paul Hammer later burst 15 metres through the gap for Israel's lone try, which Halevy converted.

Wednesday's game will most likely be Israel's toughest on the tour. They play five internationals each year and recently defeated the powerful Argentinian Pumas. The entire team plays in National League club teams.

NBA

Plays like the doctor

NEW YORK (AP). - Cleveland's Ron Harper prescribed his own brand of medicine when he visited the doctor's office in Philadelphia.

"I felt like playing like Julius Erving," Harper said of the Philadelphia stand-out known as "Dr. J."

Referring to his fourth-quarter steal and subsequent spectacular over-the-head reverse layup, Harper said: "I've seen him do it so many times (on television). So I thought I'd try to do it in Philadelphia."

Harper, a rookie, scored six of his 27 points in the final 39 seconds on Wednesday night to lead the Cleveland Cavaliers over Erving and the Philadelphia 76ers 110-107, handing the 76ers their fourth straight loss.

Harper's jump shot with 39 seconds to go tied the score at 100. Then, after a steal by teammate Phil Hubbard, Harper hit a driving layup with 13 seconds left. He sank two free throws six seconds later for a 109-105 Cavalier lead.

"That was a big win for us," Cleveland coach Lenny Wilkens said. "It's always great to win on the road, but especially here against a good team."

Rookie Reid Doughty tied his season high with 29 points and grabbed 11 rebounds for Cleveland. Charles Barkley had a game-high 32 points and Erving added 28 for the 76ers. In other National Basketball Association action: Celtics 113 (Larry Bird 34 points), Pacers 101 (Chuck Person, Vern Fleming 21); Pistons 122 (Adrian Dantley, Isiah Thomas 20), Jazz 107 (Karl Malone 27); Spurs 94 (Jon Sundvold 22, Artis Gilmore 20), Suns 81 (Walter Davis 21).

Testaverde's stock poised to take off

By HUGH McILVANNEY
NEW YORK. - The record will show that one of the leading student-athletes of America was honoured for a season of amateur excellence at a nationally televised ceremony in New York City last week.

But anyone who wants to keep track of what was really going on may be interested in knowing that the Heisman Trophy was handed over in the vicinity of Wall Street.

That just happens to be where the Downtown Athletic Club, who make the Heisman award annually to the outstanding football player of the year in the college game, have their premises. However, there could be no denying the appropriateness of the location as Vinny Testaverde made an acceptance speech that moved him closer to the moment when he will bring an avalanche of money into the lives of his working-class family by offering himself next April as one of the most coveted talents ever to dominate the National Football League Draft.

Testaverde's appeal is not simply that he is a big, strong, fast and technically brilliant quarterback whose inspired performances have enabled the University of Miami (the Hurricanes) to blast through the autumn of 1986 irresistibly that they should be odds-on to outplay another unbeaten squad, Penn State, at the Fiesta Bowl in Arizona on 2 January and so declare themselves the best college team in the country. His huge extra advantage is that in becoming only the fifth quarterback in 20 years to be made, number one choice in the Draft he will emerge from a crop without a comparable prospect in that or any other position.

Whereas 1983 sent no fewer than six remarkable quarterbacks out of the colleges into the pros (giving bidders the problem of rating the assets of Dan Marino, John Elway,

Ken O'Brien, Jim Kelly, Tony Eason and Todd Blackledge), Testaverde fills the foreground of everybody's thinking about the 1987 Draft. The sense of a Derby horse among handicappers is strengthened when Gil Brandt, the Dallas Cowboys' vice-president in charge of personnel development, says: "He is a quarterback without a flaw. He can take you to the Super Bowl."

Such tributes encourage a few notably unhyphenated observers to forecast that Testaverde will command a contract paying him a minimum of a million dollars in bonuses and more than a million a year in salary for at least four or five seasons.

There can be little doubt that the rewards will be sufficient to make the sacrifices happily borne by Testaverde's parents well worth while. His father, Big Al, is a 100 kg. construction worker who, after transplanting his close-knit clan from South Brooklyn to Long Island, obsessively nurtured his son's athleticism and then gave up the security of being a foreman and went back to smooching out concrete on a job-by-job basis so that he could fly to Florida for the University of Miami's home games.

Given the intensity with which he and his father have pursued the goal of turning him into a great professional quarterback, it may seem farfetched to examine at all closely the validity of Vinny Testaverde's status as a student. Yet the persistently marginal role of studies in his life may have some relevance for the growing number of people who feel that the fairly miserable standards of rugby prevalent at Oxford and Cambridge should be attacked by the granting of athletic scholarships.

once there a lifelong aversion to the academic grind soon reasserted itself. Even for someone majoring in physical education, his course load during one semester was a beauty: Introduction to Sports, Nutrition, Introduction to Recreation and Sports Injury.

Though Testaverde has imposed more respectable demands on himself as a student lately, he is not about to better the rather dismal impression created by the academic accomplishments of recent winners of the Heisman Trophy. At a time when practically every branch of college sport has been degraded by a scandalous eagerness to recruit and exploit gifted performers regardless of how meagre their educational qualifications may be, many Americans are depressed to find that only four of the last 10 football players awarded the Heisman before Testaverde (Doug Flutie, Herschel Walker, Billy Sims and Earl Campbell) also collected degrees.

As it happens, however, there is a powerful case for claiming that this year's hero enriched the University of Miami by much more than the quarterback skills he brought to its football team, that he is a young man (just turned 23) who deserves any break the severely flawed college athletics system has given him. It seems that nothing - neither the blessing of his physical prowess nor the adoration showered on him by a family that includes four sisters, neither awed eulogies from his teammates and opponents nor the certainty of riches up ahead - can stir a ripple of cheap vanity or aggressive self-interest in a nature that has won friends and spread cheerfulness wherever he has taken it.

Allies on the field are affectionately amused when he tries to make himself mean in the huddle. They can afford to smile, sure as they are that Testaverde has the concen-

tration, composure, self-discipline and commitment to render any kind of vicious streak an unnecessary adjunct to his tremendous range of capacities as a player. They are even willing to forgive him for being a non-sweater and virtually a teetotaler (yes, of course, smoking is out).

All they need, they insist, is a glimpse of the familiar predatory alertness in the dark eyes above the substantial nose.

"What do you see when you look inside Vinny?" asks Gary Stevens, Miami's quarterback coach, who can recall the time in 1982 when the Hurricanes had Kosar and Jim Kelly and Testaverde all on the same squad. "You see a winner. He doesn't say a word. He just wins."

Testaverde has the equipment to do that spectacularly and often: Standing 1.96m. tall and weighing a head-muscle 99 kilos, he can cover 40 yards in 4.8 seconds and throw the ball accurately 80 yards through the air with his right arm and about 50 with his left. He has already broken most of Miami's career passing records.

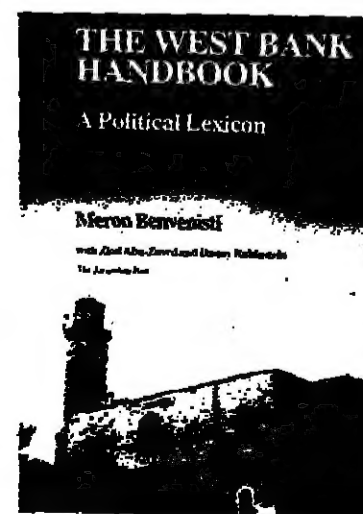
Asked to evaluate Testaverde's chances of working his wonders in the pros, George Young, General Manager of the New York Giants, set out to be as tough as possible: "Well, you'd like a guy who is a little more mobile, maybe - wait a minute, what are we doing here? We're nitpicking trying to find negatives with this guy. His release is quick. His vision is good. He throws the deep, outside pass just fine. He can bring a team from behind. He can operate inside the 20. He can stay in the pocket. He gets it done. Looking for negatives is nitpicking."

Come the NFL Draft on 28 April next year, the club that secures Vinny Testaverde will be happy to accentuate the positives.

(London Observer Service)

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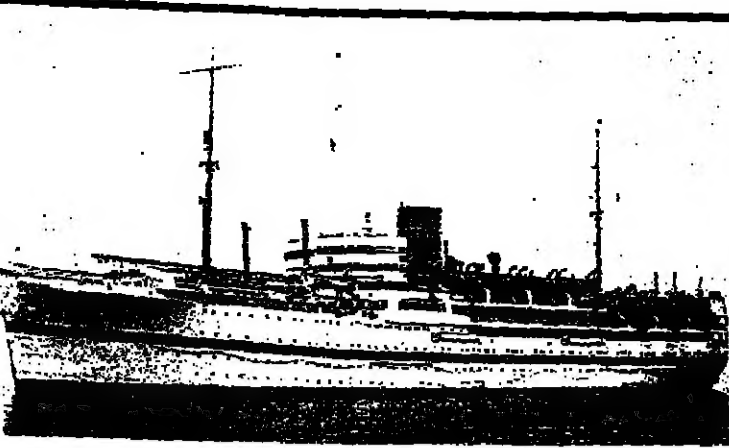
Alexander Zvielli

This true story is dedicated to my son David, an officer in the Israeli navy. It is written in memory of the many members of our family who perished during the Holocaust because nobody cared.

I BOARDED the Dunera at the Iranian port of Bender Shah in April 1942, as a soldier in General Anders' Polish army. We were headed for Suez to reinforce the allied troops which had just repulsed before General Rommel's attack for a major counter-offensive. I had no idea at the time that the smooth and immaculate 12,615-ton ship, HMT Dunera, had been carved out for itself a terrible - if not always comfortable - place in contemporary history. It was only several years later that I learned the sad story of the "Dunera boys" told in a fictionalized Australian film now being shown on television.

In 1940, the Dunera carried Jewish refugees from Britain and Singapore to Australia. The Australian and German governments had classified the British as "enemy aliens." Aboard ship, they were discriminated against and robbed by several British guards and crew members. For over two months, they travelled in frightful conditions. Yet it was their very crime, their "alien" status, which saved them, the crew and the vessel at the time.

For the Dunera's crew had thrown some of the documents and soiled belongings of the refugees into the blue waters of the Mediterranean. A patrolling German submarine fished them out and the commander, surprised by his findings, reported the matter to his superiors. His report



Ship, prison - the two faces of the Dunera

apparently indicated that there were German nationals, spies or plain Nazi sympathizers, aboard the Dunera. As a result, the Germans decided not only to spare the ship, but indeed to protect it all the way to Port Said. As a matter of fact the Germans were right - there were some Nazis and Italians on board.

Such are the surprising and ever-changing fortunes of war. The enemy may become a protector, the protector a fiend.

The appalling conditions endured by the Dunera's passengers were later discussed by the Australian War Cabinet. Australia eventually asserted its autonomy and informed the British government that it was no longer prepared to accept aliens for internment, which was more bad news for the Jews fleeing Nazi-occupied Europe. Very few Australians took an interest in the difficulties of the German-Jewish internees, and the concern of the Jewish establishment in Australia was equally limited.

The first Australian officer to inspect the Dunera, having accompanied the transport as far as Sydney, had this to report from Fremantle on August 27, 1940:

"All these internees with escort were dumped on the ship and told to get out to Australia without any thought of documents or anything else. The whole show is terrible. If you could see these 'Huns' or 'Dogs' behind the wire after two months at sea, with rough weather all the way, you would wonder how on earth they survived it..."

Parts of the Dunera files have been preserved in Australia's archives, and various attempts have been made to have them released for research.

I BOARDED the Dunera two years later, after it had been converted into a fast and comfortable troopship. To my eyes it was a most luxurious vessel. For 1,000, had been a refugee - an honour brutally imposed on me in 1940 by the Soviet NKVD. I had travelled aboard a huge Russian prisoner ship and still remember the agony and fear we felt - the thousands of prisoners who were herded down a primitive staircase into the ship's belly to sail into the Arctic's icy waters. It was like stepping into the netherworld. For weeks we stayed beneath water level with little hope of ever seeing daylight again. Poles and Russians, Czechs and German refugees, Soviet criminals and political prisoners - all "enemies of the people" - were all heading for the unknown in a vast floating cage. Had we drowned - and such accidents did occur - no one would ever have known of our harsh fate.

Such was the curse of our dispersion. Jewish refugees wandered aimlessly all over the world trying to escape from the Nazis, never knowing whom to trust or what to expect. We encountered hatred, an equally repulsive and stupid mixture of fear, ignorance, parochialism, prejudice, and a total absence of any understanding or knowledge of our own or European history.

In the end the Jewish refugees in Australia were freed. They admitted that while their internment had not been a holiday, it had been endurable. This could not be said of the Jewish refugees dispersed throughout the vast expanses of the Soviet Union.

Liberated by the Soviet amnesty which was proclaimed after Hitler brutally attacked the Soviet Union, I travelled the breadth of this country, meeting thousands of unfortunate Jewish refugees who were fighting for their very existence. I crossed the Caspian Sea, to Iran, and boarded the beautiful and comfortable Dunera, a soldier ready to do his duty.

IF EVER there was a comfortable troopship, it was the Dunera. It was so huge that seasickness was never a problem, and the food was good. There was a shop aboard, but we had very little money. That was ironic: in the Soviet Union we had had plenty of cash, but there had been nothing to buy; here, the most exquisite items were available, but our soldiers' pay was negligible.

As we approached Aden, the ship's ventilation facilities proved inadequate against the muggy and oppressive heat. We would have loved to have spent the night on deck, but this was against regulations.

So we stayed in the hold, apprehensive of the huge sliding iron doors which would automatically shut in the event of a hit by a German or Japanese torpedo. Most of these troops were dead, but unless you were close to the surface, and we accepted the situation with military equanimity. The ship might have been a trap, but it was part of a well-oiled war machine, run by the cool and efficient British navy.

My commanding officer asked me to prepare a talk on Egypt. The fact that I was Jewish and had completed Polish secondary school was apparently sufficient proof of my mastery of the complex subject.

Each national group kept to itself. There were British, Indian Gurkhas, Ceylonese, Australians, South Africans, Malaysians and God knows what else. Interaction was rare and the Poles, who knew few foreign languages, were even more isolated. With my scant English, I found it extremely difficult to move around in search of useful information. I finally found a few maps and some pre-war tourist guides and acquired myself adequately.

Everybody was happy, except for my sergeant who could hardly take on trust a lecture delivered by a Jewish soldier to Polish officers. His attitude was characteristic of the latent anti-Semitism and other national tensions which prevailed on

board. And here we come to the most interesting feature of the story.

IT BEGAN in Teheran where a Ukrainian soldier, in our battalion but a different company, cheered a passing busload of Red Army fighters. His was an unforgivable crime, committed from within the anti-Communist, anti-Soviet ranks of Anders' Army. Most of General Anders' soldiers had been through Soviet prisons, the Gulag and other privations. The soldier was instantly ostracized, but punishment had to be deferred.

It was only off the Aden peninsula that his Polish officer found a suitable opportunity. It must have been around noon and the heat was terrible. The flaming sun beat down, deadening the senses. Breathing was difficult and, below, we were all sweating profusely. The Polish lieutenant ordered the Ukrainian subordinate to pack and unpack his kitbag, to carry it up and down the narrow staircase again and again, driving the poor fellow insane.

He must have been on his sixth or seventh trip when he suddenly swerved and jumped overboard, into the nasty waters of the Indian Ocean. Within seconds, he became a black speck struggling to stay afloat on the rapidly receding water.

There was no commotion. The alarm "man overboard" was sounded, but the Dunera continued its course as if nothing had happened. In a few minutes, however, the top-ranking Polish commanding officer accosted the British captain on the bridge. "One of our men has fallen overboard," he said. "Please stop the ship and lower a boat to pick him up. You can still see him fighting the waves."

Although I was not present at the conversation and the ensuing angry exchange, I can vouch for the accuracy of the account. The British captain refused to stop the ship. "We are at war and there are Japanese submarines threatening this area," he objected. He would not risk the ship and all its passengers for the

sake of one "demented individual." As far as he was concerned, the matter was closed.

"You will stop the ship and lower a boat!" the Polish officer shouted. "You will stop the ship or you will have a mutiny on your hands," he threatened and reached for his revolver.

"I will do nothing of the sort!" the Dunera's commanding officer resisted. "Sharks have eaten your man by now," he coolly observed. The British officer in charge finally stepped in and ended the dispute. The ship came to a standstill, a boat was lowered, the Ukrainian soldier was fished out of the water and cast into the ship's prison to await judgment. We all reached Suez safely.

I AM OFTEN reminded of this incident for it shows how the Dunera, which had so callously disregarded the needs of its unprotected Jewish refugees, risked its very existence - albeit at gunpoint - for the sake of a single unfortunate soldier. The cruel fate of tens of thousands of people is sometimes of no concern to anyone while a single life can affect so many others. It all depends on the circumstances.

The incident I witnessed in 1942, and the Dunera's disgrace of 1940, are a clear indication of a truism: without the protection of your own people, you are alone in this world, an easy prey to the ever hungry wolves. It is not simply who you are that counts, but who stands with you, gun in hand, to protect you and watch over your rights.

HMT Dunera later took part in the Madagascar Operation in September 1942, served in the Sicily landings in July 1943, carried the headquarters staff of the U.S. Army in the invasion of southern France in September 1944 and was refitted in 1950. It became an educational cruise ship in 1960 and was broken up in 1967.

The paradox is that were it not for that group of Jewish refugees, the Dunera would by now have been completely forgotten.

Grand return

Music review

TRIO GARCIA (Sweden): Gustavo Garcia, violin; Goran Bolander, cello; Ingemar Edgren, piano. (Jerusalem Music Academy Hall, December 17). Lieder: Sonata a Tre Ben-Haim Variations on a Hebrew Melody; Schubert: Trio in B flat major, Op. 99.

TRIO GARCIA is on a return trip to Israel after an absence of five years, this visit arranged through the good offices of the Ministry of Tourism. During their two weeks here they are offering a series of concerts, combining the best of the standard repertoire with works by Swedish and Israeli composers. They play all of this music with great fidelity to the spirit of the score, yet with a style and colour of their own.

It is an interesting combination: violinist Garcia, assistant concertmaster of the Gothenburg Symphony, is from Chile, while his colleagues are both native Swedes. The three have created a wonderful system of checks and balances, with Nordic reserve banking the fires of Latin temperament while simultaneously rising to its challenge. Only in cold print does this sound incongruous; in live music-making the listener is drawn into a sensitive dialogue of expressivity - and is convinced.

Their phrasing is superb. It allows the music to deliver its own message with clarity, and is frequently punctuated by a teasing *ritardando*, which at the last possible second sweeps off into the ensuing idea with verve and aplomb.

Dynamic balance between the players enhances the polyphonic passages so characteristic of music for small ensembles, as with gentlemanly fellowship each steps back inconspicuously for an important idea to be voiced by a colleague. Only in the opening work were there scattered moments during which rumbling bass figures in the piano slightly overshadowed more significant lines for the strings.

THE LINDE sonata is not as conservative as the programme notes would lead one to believe. It is an eclectic work, drawing from various streams of early-20th century music, including jazz-inspired rhythms in the second movement. The whole piece bears a stamp of integrity typical of this serious-minded 35-year-old composer who, as it turned out, had only two more years to live.

One striking feature of the piece is a series of phrases in unison octaves for the strings with only the most discreet pianistic support. These were played with stout forthrightness and, like the rest of the programme, with enviable intonation.

A few oriental touches in this work created an interesting bridge to the Ben-Haim Variations, the latter offered in an energetic and authoritative reading in which none of the Eastern melos was lost on the visitors from Sweden.

Only in the closing Schubert was there a certain flagging of vitality - perhaps, it must be added, only by the contrast of two relatively modern works with the sweet singer of Vienna. One sensed a proper and sympathetic performance of this work, but not quite the same brilliant intensity as earlier.

Never mind, this is in-house quibbling. Trio Garcia, fine musicians all, is in Israel after a long absence, and if they get to your neighbourhood with one of their (free) concerts, be there.

DANIEL ZIFF

The debate on German arms exports

Wladimir Struminski/Bonn

THE ON-GOING German debate on arms exports concerns not only the moral aspect of arming, or not arming, anti-Israeli Saudi Arabia. Morality will influence decision makers only to a certain degree. There are important voices in the German political establishment which deny that, morally or no morals, increased arms exports to Third World countries are in Germany's national interest. This is true both of the opposition and government camps.

Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher pointed out last week that Germany boasts excellent international connections, including those with all Middle East countries, precisely because it has not supplied weapons to conflict areas (the standing policy is to export arms mainly to NATO countries and non-NATO Western democracies). Without saying so explicitly, Genscher was referring to the claim by proponents of arming Saudi Arabia that Ger-

many's refusal to supply arms to that country has damaged German-Saudi relations.

One of Genscher's fellow Liberals, Bundestag member Burkhard Hirsch, rejected the claim that not selling arms humiliated Saudi Arabia. A country is humiliated only if arms were promised to it but not delivered, Hirsch told *The Jerusalem Post*. He also commented on the claim that arms deliveries to Saudi Arabia stabilized the regime. The question of whether a country was stabilized by arms deliveries has to be answered "with great caution," the Liberal politician said. Also, he noted, as Saudi Arabia is part of the Arab world, arms sales to it were likely to draw similar demands from other Arab countries.

Proponents also claim that Israel has nothing to fear from Saudi Arabia. Hirsch pointed out, however, that there was a clear conflict of interest between Saudi Arabia and Israel. For this reason, a Saudi de-

claration that it would not use weapons bought from Germany against Israel would not be credible.

OTHER coalition politicians, mainly Chancellor Helmut Kohl's Christian Democratic Party, seem to be flirting with the idea of selling arms to Saudi Arabia, even though they would not say clearly under what circumstances the arms would be sold. This, Hans Stercken, a Christian Democratic member of the Bundestag and chairman of the influential Foreign Relations Committee, told *The Post* that the Arab-Israeli conflict was losing its relative importance because of the threat by Islamic fundamentalism. Stercken said that arms deliveries to the Saudis may stabilize that country and that continuing refusals to supply Israel with weapons are not necessarily in Israel's interest. On the other hand, Stercken demanded security guarantees for Israel. He said that parallel arms deliveries to Israel were not necessarily the solution, but that political developments may strengthen Israeli security. He did not, however, specify, what

Saudi steps could be considered sufficient guarantees.

One may assume that there are proponents of arms sales to Saudi Arabia who are not thinking only of profits but who genuinely believe that the Saudi regime may be stabilized by such deliveries. But as long as they do not deal with the question of Israeli security, they cannot claim to have solved the problem. Simply saying that the Saudis are harmless avoids the issue.

It may safely be assumed that Bavarian Prime Minister Franz Josef Strauss, the leader of the pro arms exports movement, has the local economic interests of his state in mind - at least to a considerable degree. Bavaria, including its capital, Munich, is a major centre of the German defence industry.

WEST GERMAN economic and defence circles have serious objections to a general increase in arms exports to Third World countries. But economic experts in Bonn acknowledge that a few branches of the defence industry, like shipbuilding, or individual companies like Krauss-Maffei

in Munich, which produces the Leopard-II tank the Saudis are keen to purchase, are experiencing, or are likely to suffer in the future from, under-utilized manufacturing capacities. This problem would be eased by major orders from abroad, the experts say. But, they add, such a solution was dangerous as it created dependence on haphazard markets. Tellingly, sources at the Economics Ministry do not advocate an all-out promotion of arms exports.

Defence specialists point out that the Bonn Defence Ministry does not view the expansion of arms exports to non-NATO countries as the appropriate way to make the defence industry more efficient. The Ministry wants the companies to keep their highly-qualified research and development staffs - whose jobs might be endangered if the firms had no contracts. However, few defence firms are threatened by unutilized capacity and accompanying layoffs.

In any case, the Defence Ministry wants companies to diversify their output, keeping the share of defence manufacturing to no more than 30 per cent of total production, rather than go in for unrestrained Third World arms exports. However, as a military observer pointed out, the companies find it difficult to get into

civilian production, as long as the military business is going well.

Military experts also say that export-intensive companies may exacerbate their problems if they receive simultaneous orders from a foreign customer and the German army. In such a case, they might increase their production capacities. Upon the completion of the foreign order, the over-capacity problem would then be even worse.

The defence industry is interested in large-scale production in order to keep down the costs of each weapon. This is also what the Bundeswehr wants. Still, increasing efficiency can be best achieved by international cooperation within NATO rather than by Third World exports, military circles in Bonn say.

The internationalization of arms production, however, gives rise to another political problem for Germany. In cooperative production ventures, any of the countries may sell the product. This is likely to lead Germany into large-scale indirect arms exports to areas of international tension. A case in point is the British sale of the German-British Italian Tornado fighter jet to Saudi Arabia. The German government declared itself not responsible for the British sale.

An offer we couldn't refuse

Beverlee Black

THE FIRST ITEM on *The Jerusalem Post* Toy Fund's shopping list has been checked off. One of our suppliers brought us a special offer on quality watches which we just couldn't turn down. We bought 200 and will probably purchase an additional 200 in the next few weeks. These watches will be presented to bat and bar mitzva children who have no one else to give them this important gift.

One of the biggest challenges in working with the Toy Fund is determining what suits each age group.

THE JERUSALEM POST HANUKKA TOY FUND

We put a lot of thought into making our selections so that children in foster care, institutions and hospitals can have something they will enjoy and value for Hanukkah.

A wonderful gesture was made by Jean Ascher and Gitta Bechshoff, unicyclists from the Danish Circus Changhigh, who have offered to do two performances, without payment, for the children in Beit Havedel Institution in Gilo. They will be appearing there next week at the children's Hanukkah party. I'm sure a good time will be had by all.

We are most grateful and encouraged by the kind words sent by our contributors. They realize how great the needs are - and they really care.

Once again, our liaison with the Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs has brought us a new batch of requests for the elderly. This means that our need to raise more money is urgent. There just isn't enough to meet the growing demands. Needs are growing and funds must grow accordingly.

Please send your cheques today, (separate ones for each fund) to The Jerusalem Post Funds, P.O.B. 81, 91000 Jerusalem. Beginning next week, the funds will run a listing on Wednesdays as well as Fridays.

NIS 1,335 Israel Bowling Association tournament, annual Max Spitz charity day. NIS 1,000 Elisheva Stern, Kibbutz Maor Ham, in memory of our brother and sister - Rachel and Les Korman, Jerusalem. NIS 300 in memory of Misha - M. and A.R. Dukler, Jerusalem. Ida and Monty Rabin, NIS 150 in memory of my mother and

New Donations
NIS 6,174
\$2,742
Can. \$30
Aust. \$40
EUS
NIS 200
Swkr 200

Progress Totals
NIS 127,205
\$12,611
Can. \$736
Aust. \$176
Swkr 460
EUS 778
Swkr 300
SAR 126

eleven grandchildren, Gid, Yalya, Leora, Sarit, Nira, Elad, Shira, Tamar, Ariel, Yonatan, Meital - Sol and Barbara Liebowitz. NIS 150 Anonymous, Jerusalem. B. Litvin, Tel Aviv. Anonymous, Ramat Gan. NIS 147 E.M. & G. Goldblatt of Toronto, formerly of Netanya. NIS 150 in memory of my wife's (Haya Reich) birthday - Karl Reich, Ramat Gan. NIS 100 in memory of the late Miriam Ben Porat - Mrs. Mary Segal, Netanya. Brand and Judith Gubies, Jerusalem. Alisa Kanitz, Michmoret. A. Gueler Ltd., Netanya. Joseph Poritz, Jerusalem. NIS 90 Vida and Fred Simons, Jerusalem. NIS 60 in honour of Ayala Oshrat and Eitan - Anonymous, Haifa. NIS 50 in honour of grandfather's birthday and all the grandchildren. Dorth, Hadza, Gefen (bat mitzva), Zwickel, Mor, Yassin, Tamar and Shaked - E. Rosene, Anonymous. Heinz and Gabriela Pollack, Jerusalem. In memory of our beloved daughter Irith for our seven grand children and our newborn great granddaughter Irith - Omi and Opa Steinhilber, Chava Liberty, Tel Aviv. Manfred and Barbara Joseph, Lawrenceville, N.Y. A pensioner, Tel Aviv. In loving memory of my parents, Ruben and Sara Gilbert of Dallas, TX - Reba Bornstein, Tel Aviv. Anonymous, Jerusalem. NIS 40 in celebration of the Ruby wedding of Cynthia and Sydney Helene and Ronnie Goodman. NIS 38 Miriam Fernandez, Tel Aviv. NIS 36 in honour of the birth of Tizah Shalom Kanger - from her proud grandmother, Mildred Kanger of Worcester, MA. NIS 30 Imre Ratz, Tel Aviv. Arnold and Margaret Koenigsfeld, Jerusalem. For our dear grandchildren, Hagai, Eli, Sarit, Shai, Nirit, Avi, Tamir, Liat, Adiel, Reut and Revital - Ruth and Felix Wolfsthal, Jerusalem. NIS 25 in loving memory of my husband - E. Finn, Haifa. Mazel tov Denise and Lorne - from Chalkie and Harley, Netanya. NIS 30 Viktor Pollak Family, Kibbutz Maor Ham, Kibbutz Amiad, Zvi Widin, Nof Yam. NIS 18 in honour of the bat mitzva of Shai Grosskop in Arad - Bayla Berlinger, Jerusalem. Miriam Bobes, Netanya. In loving memory of my grandparents - Esther Susan, Jerusalem. NIS 15 Anonymous, Rehovot. Mr. and Mrs. A. Schain, Netanya. \$1,000 Anonymous. \$500 in memory of my family - my mother and

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'Far from having too many labourers, Israel has too few. The trouble is people are work-shy.'

BRITISHER John Packwood fell in love with an Israeli girl he had met while working on a kibbutz. Back on the Isle of Wight he could not get her out of his mind. He came back to this country, taking a job at a factory in Ma'alot where her father was employed.

He was not Jewish and was discussing what to do about that. Meanwhile, he worked hard and saved. Her family liked him. All was going well, till the flat he had rented was burgled. He called in the police who examined his documents - and proceeded to lock him up. He had been working without a permit.

Helped by his girlfriend's family and by the firm employing him, he engaged a lawyer who got him released, on condition that he did not work unless and until he got a permit.

I met Packwood at the Labour Ministry outside the office of Israel Jungster, the official in the employment service who dishes out the necessary authorizations. (Actually the Interior Ministry issues them on his recommendation.) Packwood had travelled by bus for five-and-a-half hours to plead his case. What are his chances?

They had been spelled out for me in an interview I was granted earlier with the head of the employment service, Baruch Haklai. Three conditions are imposed for a work permit. First, the job applied for must be technologically specialized. Second the services of the foreigner must be essential to the national interest. Third and last, there must be a shortage of qualified Israeli candidates.

These conditions are liable to clash. At the present moment there is a severe shortage of workers in the textile industry. Assisted by Israel's free trade agreements with Europe and the U.S., it is enjoying an export boom. What is more essential than exports?

Argaman Textiles in Yavne put in for 40 workers from Portugal, were allowed 26 and have employed 24 to date. But they are not technologically specialized, being at best skilled factory hands. So they comply with

only two of Haklai's three requirements, yet were admitted all the same. Jungster says he has 200 requests for foreign workers pending, from the textile industry alone.

What about the third condition - a shortage of Israeli candidates? Israel suffers from unemployment, we are told, so there must be plenty of local talent available. However, qualified men are sufficiently scarce to be choosy. The textile industry is not the best-paying sector and the jobs going begging are often those which include night shifts.

A job seeker is not obliged to take a post he does not like. If textiles are not his trade, or if the workplace is more than 40km. from where he lives, his reluctance will not invalidate his entitlement to unemployment insurance benefits.

The work avoiders are relatively few and the number of work permits accorded to foreigners not that great. Visitors legally employed here number 1,800, 60 per cent of them in tourism or the defence industries. The sudden demand for outside labour in the textile industry is something new. So is the engagement of foreign workers endowed with proletarian rather than professional skills. How are they recruited?

I SOUGHT out an organization called ORS (Overseas Representation Services). Its head office is in Kikar Atarim, Tel Aviv, and it has branches in Jerusalem, Haifa, Rehovot and Beersheba. It belongs to Gaby Sebbag, formerly mayor of Dimona. He is chairman and his son Doron general manager.

ORS, like counterpart organizations abroad, is a sizeable employer of labour - but Israel labour. Many business companies need a varying number of employees. The figure rises and falls depending on seasonal and other factors. If they take on the maximum number, they have an excess of labour in slack times; if they take on the minimum, they are short of hands when demand peaks.

ORS offers a solution by engaging staff of its own, who get their pay (and fringe benefits) from ORS but go to work where they are told. The

system enables business companies to save a lot of money. They take on permanent staff the fixed number that they need all year round and recruit others on a temporary basis during periods of high activity. The temporaries are not worried, they have job security as permanent employees of ORS. "We provide labour mobility," Sebbag states proudly.

The same system applies in hiring foreign workers. Sebbag has 3,000 persons in his employ, all Israelis. The foreign workers he secures from counterpart organizations overseas. They travel from afar to work in an Israeli establishment, but their employer remains the organization abroad. The firm they work for in this country pays not the men but the foreign organization, and ORS receives a commission.

How much do the guest workers earn? The Portuguese textile operative costs the local factory employing him \$6 an hour, of which he gets \$4, while \$2 is kept by the labour supply organization abroad. It uses the cash to defray his travel expenses, health insurance and other fringe benefits.

The monthly cost to the Israeli company comes to \$1,185 or NIS 1,780. Sebbag explains: "For that money the company requires a worker with qualifications. Even if the authorities allowed the import of untrained personnel, there would be no demand because they are too expensive." Highly skilled individuals recruited in England (welders, millers, tool-makers) fetch \$9 an hour, or \$1,780 a month, which comes to NIS 2,670.

SEBBAG sees the temporary workers as a flock of migrant birds. They move collectively, he says. "The news gets round that Boeing are

Foreign workers: are they needed?

David Krivine



Labour Minister Katsav wants to make it harder for young unemployed to refuse job offers.

1,000 requests outstanding that I am not allowed by the authorities to fill." Not all the job-holding foreigners are here legally. The illegals include young wanderers looking for occasional employment in a sunny climate. Others come from poor and over-populated countries (China, Thailand, the Philippines) looking for a living in the prosperous West. They arrive as tourists and stay on as domestic servants, waiters in hotels and restaurants (especially in Eilat), and casual labourers in unlicensed enterprises.

Haklai does not know how many they number. "The Interior Ministry says several thousand," he observes vaguely. (Sebbag thinks they amount to 4,000-5,000.) "If we catch them we sue the employer in court," declares Haklai severely; but he admits the search is not very intensive. "Who will do it?" he wonders. "We in the Employment Service are not a detective agency, and the police are preoccupied with other duties."

GUEST WORKERS - the legal ones - may not bring their families with them. Nothing prevents a wife from coming over, but as a tourist. After a while she has to leave. Important persons with special contracts manage all the same. A structural engineer earns anything from \$17 to \$25 an hour. He can afford to bring his wife and children along. They go abroad periodically for a holiday and come back with a new tourist visa.

Skilled textile workers like the Portuguese leave their wives and other dependants behind. Their contracts are for one year, possibly renewable. They are put up in a respectable hotel which accommodates them two or three to a room for

\$4 or \$5 a night. Or they share a rented flat. ORS supplies the landlord with the necessary guarantees.

Can they afford these outlays on NIS 1,186 a month? According to a manager in Argaman no tax is deducted, which leaves them with a net pay that they consider good. "It is three or four times what they made back in Portugal," he says. "That is why they are prepared to suffer the pangs of exile. They save up to bring a decent sum of money home."

The authorities are keen that they should go home in due course, letting Israelis replace them. Haklai points out that firms using foreign labour are urged to institute vocational courses for training replacements.

Moreover, Labour Minister Moshe Katsav has an amendment to the Employment Service Law on the hob for submission to the Knesset. It introduces three modifications. Job seekers up to the age of 25 will have to take whatever work they are offered, whether it conforms to their expectations and qualifications or not. (In other words they will forfeit their unemployment relief if they say no.)

Katsav's second modification concerns unemployment insurance. It comes to 80 per cent of a man's last wage (provided that salary did not exceed half the average wage). For some work seekers the remuneration offered for a particular job can be less than the benefits he would receive if he were unemployed. Under the new amendment any such shortfall will be made good by the Employment Service, so that the applicant loses nothing by taking up the post. Finally a person can at present reject a job situated more than 40kms. from his home. That rather exiguous limit will be changed to 60kms.

GABY SEBBAG stresses: "We seek Israelis for all jobs before resorting to the services of foreigners. But we often cannot find candidates." What about the many unemployed - seven per cent of the labour force? There is no real unemployment, according to Sebbag. "It's all a

big bluff. People here are not workless, they are work-shy," he maintains.

Far from having too many labourers Israel has too few; the shortage is not of jobs but of job-seekers. Workers were lacking in other industrialized countries till the latest recession. Germany solved the problem by importing Turks, France by importing North Africans and England by importing West Indians.

"Our migrant workers were the olim (immigrants) who came here in droves during the Fifties and Sixties. Now that immigration has dropped we face bottlenecks. I went to Yeroham, that problem city in the Negev which is supposedly riddled with unemployment. I wanted 20 men for employment in the Dead Sea Works, I did not find more than 12."

"I believe the country is short of 10,000 workers at this moment," Can Sebbag give substance to what he says by putting his money where his mouth is? He does not hesitate: "Let any man wanting a job enrol with ORS. We will take him on without charging him anything, provided he agrees to work wherever we say. If we can't find him a position, we'll pay him \$10 a day out of our own pocket throughout the idle period. You can publish that," he concludes with relish.

WHAT ABOUT John Packwood, the lovelorn young Englishman I spoke about at the beginning? I sought Israel Jungster again, the Labour Ministry man who deals with foreigners. "Well," he says, "the factory states that it needs his services."

"We have asked to see his engineering diploma and are checking that no Israelis are applicants for his job in Ma'alot." If the answers are right, he will get his permit.

The official adds a footnote: "Perference for work permits from persons having rabbinic approval for starting conversion to Judaism are treated with special consideration. The conversion process takes time and the candidate needs to keep body and soul together, so we must let him earn a living."

Odds on for Jordan plan

Critics say that Jordan's development plan for the West Bank and Gaza will lead to political dependence on Amman. Other experts believe that even if the plan turns out to be more modest than intended it could have a tremendous impact on the territories' economy.

NEARLY HALF the West Bank population lives in dwellings with seven people or more to a room. Teachers earn an average of \$250 a month; schools run on two shifts. And poor planning means that Beit Omar village near Hebron boasts over 130 farm tractors, while nearby Halhoul, a village with more agricultural land, has only four.

Jordan's new development plan for the territories could have a significant impact on such problems, proponents say.

Meanwhile, the Hashemite kingdom can muster considerable skill and experience to make the plan a success - even if the final plan is more modest in scope than the current \$1 billion goal, a number of diplomats, academics and financial analysts have said recently.

"Jordan has one of the most cost-effective foreign-aid programmes in the world," asserted one Western diplomat here, formerly based in Amman. "Whatever money they get, it'll probably be used for something useful. They don't fritter it

away." Such comments help to paint a somewhat brighter picture of the development programme's potential than the generally grim press forecasts that followed a November planning conference in Amman.

CRITICS ranging from elements on the right to the PLO have charged that the plan is poorly conceived or will inevitably founder on financial and political obstacles.

Even the most optimistic analysts still seem to doubt that Jordan will obtain foreign aid sufficient to meet its current \$200 million-a-year goal. But they say that a more modest plan could have a tremendous impact on the small and underdeveloped economy of the territories.

Taken together, the West Bank and Gaza Strip generate only about \$1 billion annually in Gross Domestic Product. Thus a \$1 billion five-year plan represents a "huge injection" into the economy.

WEST BANK sources, meanwhile, say that Jordan already has generated some \$100 million in informal pledges for 1987, the first year of the development programme. This included \$28m. from its own coffers, about \$13m. from the United States, and the balance from Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, the Gulf States, Germany and Britain.

That far exceeds estimates by critics of the plan like Meron Benvenisti, of the West Bank Data Project. He figures that so far Jordan has less than \$40m. for the first year - consisting mainly of its own recent commitment and a pledge from the U.S. Alexander Bligh, a Hebrew University researcher on Jordan, agrees that contributions could ultimately

total just "a few tens of million a year - and more money will come if the plan is proven to be feasible."

But even that kind of sum would be meaningful, he says.

"We're talking about establishing the foundations for an economic infrastructure on the West Bank that does not exist," he said. "If we're talking about beginnings, this is indeed something."

Bank of Israel economist Dan Zakai noted that a plan of \$150m. a year - a figure cited by some as Jordan's current practical target - would still increase the total annual public and private investment in the territories by more than 50 per cent.

Elaine Ruth Fletcher

That investment now stands at about \$266m, said Zakai, author of several reports on the territories. But he agreed that "even a small amount of money can create a big effect."

THAT, OF COURSE, depends on the money being well spent. But Jordan's record in a series of East Bank development plans is quite respectable.

A recent profile on Jordan by the London-based Economist Intelligence Unit, a subsidiary of The Economist weekly, said that Jordan has a reputation for "prudent macro-economic management" and a long history of concern for economic planning.

The kingdom's 1976-80 development plan for the East Bank helped achieve a real annual growth rate of about 8.5 per cent - "a credible effort when compared with growth levels in the developing world," commented the Economist report.

And the 1981-85 plan, undertaken in a more difficult regional economic climate, achieved a real annual growth rate of about 4.2 per cent - "still a respectable figure," according to the report.

"They did better than we did over the past 10 years," noted Zakai, referring to overall Jordanian growth compared with Israel's.

Bligh, meanwhile, disputes assertions - often issued from PLO quarters - that the Arab States, crucial funding sources, will shy away from contributing to a development plan that sidesteps the PLO.

"Jordan has always been successful in working out a formula for such problems," said Bligh. He believes that, ironically, European countries may find the absence of direct PLO participation a greater political obstacle.

He noted that the European Community recently voted to provide new assistance directly to the West Bank, rather than via Jordan's programme - a step he described as a significant political gesture.

ON THE West Bank, proponents of the plan take issue with many of the points raised by Benvenisti.

Benvenisti has said that too much of the plan is devoted to maintenance allocations to institutions and personal grants that would create political dependence on Jordan, not a more viable economy.

But West Bank supporters of the programme argue that his analysis ignores the need to balance new economic investment against support for badly-needed improvements in educational, health and welfare facilities and economic support systems. They say two of the biggest "non-productive" spending



The Shati refugee camp in Gaza.

(Mike Goldberg)

items - \$70m. - \$80m. for teachers' salary supplements and some \$252m. for new home mortgages - both address serious problems affecting living standards in the territories.

"With seven or more persons living in one room, what could be more essential than to invest in housing? Twenty-two thousand housing units are needed every year," said one source.

"Show me one Israeli family that can survive on the \$250 monthly salary that an average teacher in the West Bank gets," he added. "Some

body has to support the educational system, the charitable societies, the welfare institutions, the government employee." Likewise, the proposals for industrial development in the traditional agriculture sector may focus on labour-intensive firms; but proponents of the plan challenge Benvenisti's charge that such development is part of a Jordanian strategy for preventing the West Bank from competing with the East Bank in the high-technology arena.

"That is ridiculous," said a West Bank source. "People in the West Bank and Gaza Strip are far behind

in technology and expertise. The plan provides for the setting up of six vocational training centres which will produce technicians for future industries."

"The goal of the development plan," he added, "should be to do away with the dependence of the West Bank and Gaza Strip on Israel. Disengagement of the economy is a must for the future of Israel and the territories."

"Or does this policy make Meron Benvenisti unhappy?"

(This is the second of two articles. The first appeared last Friday.)

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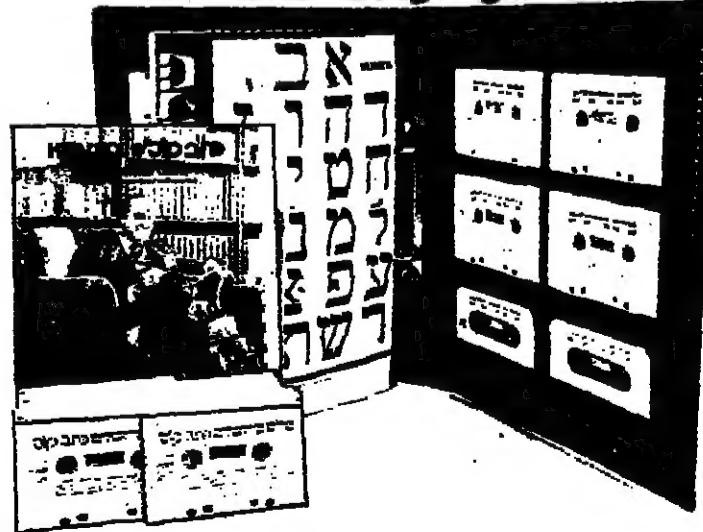
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Treasury's plan a net gain

THE ECONOMIC reform programme that the Treasury laid open on Wednesday for cabinet and public inspection represents a move in the right direction.

That is not to say that every item in the complex and multi-faceted programme is beyond criticism, or that it does not contain sins of either commission or omission. Even Finance Minister Moshe Nissim has made it clear that the details are open to change, and there is no doubt that most of the components have a fair degree of internal flexibility.

Thus, for example, the NIS 486 million budget cut being sought can be allocated in different proportions among the various ministries, should the cabinet so vote. The tax reform, while still remaining "revenue-neutral," can be rejigged so that the degree of benefit and the compensation for abolished tax credits that various groups are scheduled to receive, can be altered in the course of the cabinet, Knesset and public discussion.

But today the fate of the plan hangs in the balance because a strange alliance of Histadrut, large industrialists and assorted special interests have joined together to attack it. The violent reaction of many of these opponents is totally disproportionate to the extent of the threat that the plan actually poses to them.

In some cases, their response could ruin their case at the outset by destroying their credibility.

Does Defence Minister Yitzhak Rabin, for instance, seriously expect the public to give credence to his claim that the security of the country will be shattered, and the military-industrial complex brought to collapse, by a NIS 180 million cut in the multi-billion dollar defence budget? Do the trade union leaders threatening to lead mass demonstrations on the streets believe that their members will answer their call, when the figures suggest that most wage-earners will be marginally better off on their present salaries after the reform than before?

The vehemence of the opposition may now achieve what has so far been avoided, namely the splitting of the cabinet along straight party lines when it comes to vote on the Treasury's draft budget proposal. The Labour ministers, and especially Vice Premier Shimon Peres, and his senior economic minister Gad Ya'acobi, should beware of this tendency before they make decisions they may later come to rue.

First let them ask themselves, in all honesty, what they would have done if they had been in the roles of Yitzhak Shamir and Moshe Nissim. They must then answer why they gave the plan qualified approval when Mr. Nissim first described it to them, two weeks ago. After all, it was the same then as it is now.

Finally, they must know that if they shoot the plan down and the economy then worsens, it is the Labour Party which will be portrayed to the voters by the Likud as the cause of that regression, and the achievements in getting inflation down, like the disasters of the previous Likud administration, will be forgotten.

Leaving political calculations aside, the problem with all the opponents of the plan is that they have no alternative to put forward. The aims of the plan — of a return to growth, lower inflation, productivity and efficiency gains — are almost by definition the ones universally sought. The means to these ends — lower tax rates to encourage individuals to work harder and companies to invest, of equal access to capital and the end of a host of special interests, of reduced government involvement in every part of the economy and a trimming of the bureaucracy — are now the common wisdom. The supposed threat to the lower income brackets has been shown to be hollow. Beyond that, the possibility that some groups will lose some privileges must be accepted in a shakeout as sweeping as the one under consideration.

In any case, it is precisely those details that are worth arguing about, and that are open to discussion.

At the end of the day, the opponents know as well as the proponents that there is no real choice. The regiments of young people who have gone abroad, and the others who cannot come on aliyah because they can't make ends meet in the Israeli economic reality, have no lobbyists. Nor do the foreign investors who have ignored Israel for several years. Economic growth, like other things that don't yet exist, costs no votes. But all these are the genuine "weaker classes" and we ignore them at our peril.

Sliding down?

SO LONG AS the fate of the occupied territories has not been settled by political means Israel has no choice but to remain an occupier. But it is not preordained that Israel's occupation should be — or even should be seen to be — foolish rather than wise, brutal rather than benign.

A fresh challenge to this country's standard boast about the benignity of its occupation was offered at a press conference held on Tuesday by former Arab prisoners at a new IDF detention facility in the Gaza Strip, already known by the sobriquet "Ansar II." The ex-detainees complained that they had been sentenced to prison terms and fines in mass trials without the benefit of adequate legal counsel, beaten up while in jail, denied food, made to stand naked and salute an army officer, kiss one another's buttocks and drink water from their shoes.

The IDF spokesman's immediate response to the complaints was that — contrary to the complainants' allegation — they had not been duly filed with the army authorities, and thus did not deserve an investigation. Yesterday the spokesman repeated that same retort. The implication was that the army could not spare the time to check up on each and every flimsy and libellous accusation which convicted Palestinians might deem it advisable to hurl at Israel.

Perhaps the response would have been a little different had the spokesman taken notice of the fact that rather similar charges of mistreatment of the occupied population — even in violation of official policy and of the written instructions to the troops — have been made in the past by Israeli soldiers and reservists, and proved in court to have been well founded.

It will not do to cavalierly shrug off the accusations levelled by the Gaza ex-prisoners against their captors. For even if only partially true, these accusations would denote a widespread attitude that is calculated to make the occupation not a bridge to future peace but a guarantee of permanent warfare.

The authenticity of Yitzhak Rabin's disavowal of the "iron fist" epithet attached to his occupation policy will be judged by deeds, not by protestations of innocence.

Tax reform — the rhetoric of inequality

Avi Temkin

PRIME MINISTER Yitzhak Shamir and Finance Minister Moshe Nissim say this country needs more inequality in income and wealth distribution to promote growth in the economy.

They claim that the rich and the relatively well-to-do must be made richer in order to restart the engine of growth. They think that once Jews abroad see taxes on top incomes being brought down, a reduction in government intervention, union power and across-the-board social services, they will start pouring into Israel in the thousands.

The rhetoric of inequality used by Shamir and Nissim is not new. Naïve believers in these dogmatic principles and those consciously serving the interests of the country's economic elite are fond of portraying themselves as bearers of some "objective" truth, to be applied in every time and place. But a closer scrutiny of this rhetoric reveals its illusory character, and even the sheer hypocrisy often involved.

In the present case the rhetoric of inequality means implementing a tax reform involving individual income tax and corporate tax. Yitzhak Shamir and Moshe Nissim plan to take NIS 300 million from the budget to finance the reform that will carry their principles into effect.

As regards personal taxation, the reform is designed to leave the top earners with an increased net income. The benefits of the reform decrease with income. But Shamir and Nissim say nobody's income will drop because of the reform.

Let us assume for a second that they are sincere when they say that nobody will be hurt by the reform. In other words, let us assume that neither the lower nor the middle brackets in the income ladder will be affected by the scrapping of tax exemptions, and that benefits for the

top income groups will come out of the budget and not the pockets of other tax payers. This means that the government's debt will grow by NIS 300 million, and that this sum will be duly transferred to the top 20 per cent of income earners in the economy.

Now, nobody has proved that using NIS 300 million as an incentive for the top 20 per cent is going to bring about economic growth. Shamir and Nissim are proceeding on the assumption that people are going to be more willing to work or invest when their marginal tax goes down from a maximum of 60 per cent to a maximum of 45 per cent. This is what the rhetoric of inequality says.

However, what the rhetoric of inequality must prove is that there is no alternative way of allocating the money involved that will produce better results. Shamir and Nissim say the extra income will serve as an incentive. But the fact is that as income grows, the incentive is progressively diminished, i.e. the incremental incentive for work and investment declines with income. Since higher income brackets are to benefit more than lower ones from the reform, one questions whether the correct step was taken.

BUT WHAT about the alternative use for NIS 300 million? Why is increasing inequality inherently superior to extending social services and taking them beyond their current "minimum subsistence" level? What about an ambitious educational programme aimed at the thousands of children and youngsters currently at the bottom of the socio-economic scale? Such a programme would boost social mobility. It would probably enlarge the pool from which tomorrow's scientists and other professionals would emerge. Not only would they then "not be hurt," but they would provide the very "engine" which Shamir and Nissim are so desperately seeking.

READERS' LETTERS

ACRE MUSEUM

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post Sir, — During 1973 my husband and I toured your lovely land from Dan to Beersheba. Recently I again visited Israel and because the Museum of Courage at Acre had left an indelible memory, I made a return visit.

I was astonished and horrified to see the desecration of this historical place. It used to be in the immaculate condition of the Six Day War Museum on Ammunition Hill. Now there is rubble all over, broken picture frames, tattered and faded letters torn from the walls, vandalism in the galleys room, no evidence of an eternal flame and utter neglect everywhere.

I can understand this happening in another country but not in Israel, where you revere your dead heroes. JEAN VAN ZYL Johannesburg.

HALACHIC CONVERSION

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post Sir, — With all due respect to Rabbi Shlomo Goren's erudition, he failed to explain in his lengthy article "Court should be told: Miller not a Jew" (December 12) the difference between the conversions of Ruth the Moabite (the great-grandmother of King David) and that of Shoshana Miller. Ruth didn't undergo immersion in a mikve, as required by Halacha, nor had her initiation been authoritatively decided by a court of three judges. All Ruth did was to declare "Your people shall be my people and your God my God." So did Shoshana Miller.

JACOB ROSIN

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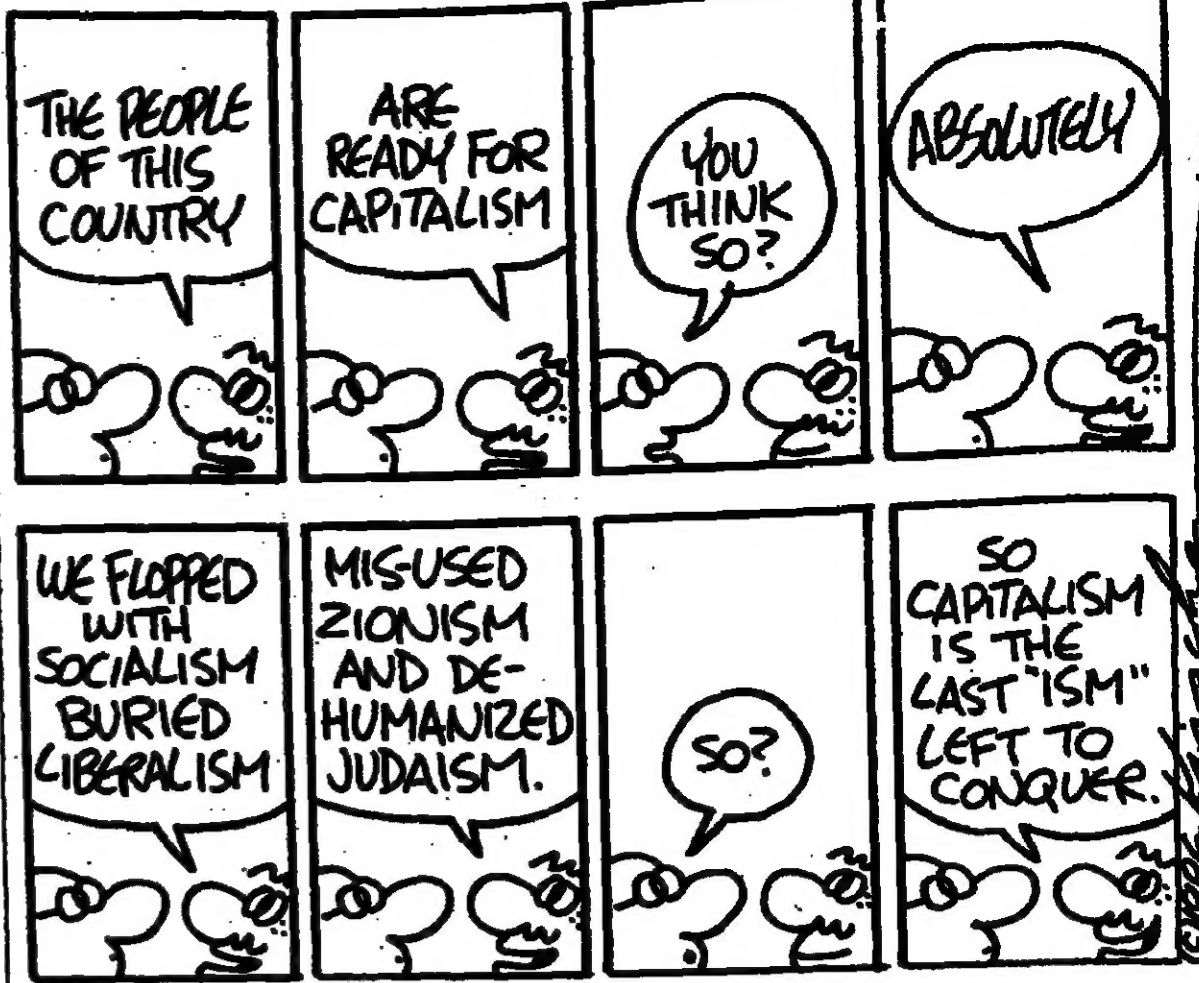
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The Friday Dry Bones



Shamir's and Nissim's notion that stimulating the social structure of the United States is going to attract more Jews is somewhat naïve. There is no way Israel can offer young Jews from abroad the standard of living they can achieve in the U.S. In any case, why would they be prepared to accept a cheap imitation when they already have the original?

More important, American social structure, which Shamir and Nissim so much admire, implies the existence of a large sector of "marginal" populations, living in urban ghettos and politically passive, and on the other hand, the existence of a corporate sector with ample and limitless economic and political clout. If this what these ministers want they should state so clearly.

The rhetoric of inequality states that lower corporate taxes, which leave more resources in the hands of the companies, will encourage in-

vestment. Why this should happen is not clear. What will probably happen is that firms will have less need to utilize accountants and accounting practices for disguising profits as expenditure, or presenting benefits distributed to managers and owners, as costs. There will, of course, be some marginal inducement, but it would be naïve to suppose that all that firms are waiting for to start investing is a more generous corporate tax law.

THE RHETORIC of inequality becomes nothing more than a fairy tale when it comes to the social philosophy involved. What Shamir and Nissim say they are offering those at the middle and the bottom of the income scale is "hope." We are being asked to believe that "work," "effort" and "inventiveness" will be rewarded by higher income, that social mobility will offer everybody at least the opportunity of joining those at the top whom the reform favours.

But social mobility is not on the rise in this country. On the contrary, the burden of all economic plans in the past 10 to 15 years has been borne by the middle class. Not only has "social distance" between them and those at the top increased, but the chances of bridging it diminish with every new tax, every increased fee, every budget cut. Israel has become a society where working-class kids get working-class jobs — if they get any at all — where middle-class families are constantly engaged in the effort to maintain their position on the socio-economic scale.

But even from the viewpoint of those whom Shamir and Nissim intend to benefit, there are question marks. After all, the past years have taught them that they have far more to gain from galloping inflation than from abstract principles such as those held by Shamir and Nissim.

The hypocrisy involved in the proposed tax reform is nowhere more evident than when it comes to the stock market. The Tel Aviv Stock Exchange is apparently off-

limits as regards "principles" of the likes of those held by Shamir and Nissim. They proclaim that all tax exemptions should be abolished since they are corrupt and obstruct economic growth. "Out with exemptions" was the slogan at the Treasury. Taxation of all income was to be recognized as a general article of faith, duly honoured by all.

But when it came to the stock exchange, Nissim and Shamir and all their advisers balked. When Nissim presented his plan there was no mention of a tax on capital gains in the stock exchange. Neither was there any mention of a transactions tax.

A capital gain on stocks is, to all intents and purposes, income. It can and should be taxed. The right way of doing it is to deduct at source some sum, according to the top marginal bracket. Investors who think they have been too heavily taxed would file a tax return, and their money would be duly reimbursed at the end of the year. Capital losses would also be recognized as deductible.

But Nissim said this was "too complicated" and he ruled it out, claiming the Treasury does not have the resources to deal with the increase in tax returns that would result from such a move. This sounds a petty excuse. Most of the large individual investors in the stock exchange are not badly-off wage earners who do not file tax returns, but self-employed who are obliged to file in any case. At any rate the Treasury's refusal to consider such a tax is proof of the political clout of Shamir and Nissim's powerful friends at the stock exchange.

The rhetoric of inequality, then, involves not only day-dreaming about economic growth. When it comes to the interests of the powerful and rich both Nissim and Shamir are all too realistic. Their designs are intended to lend ideological legitimacy to what has long become a sad reality.

The writer is The Jerusalem Post's economic reporter.

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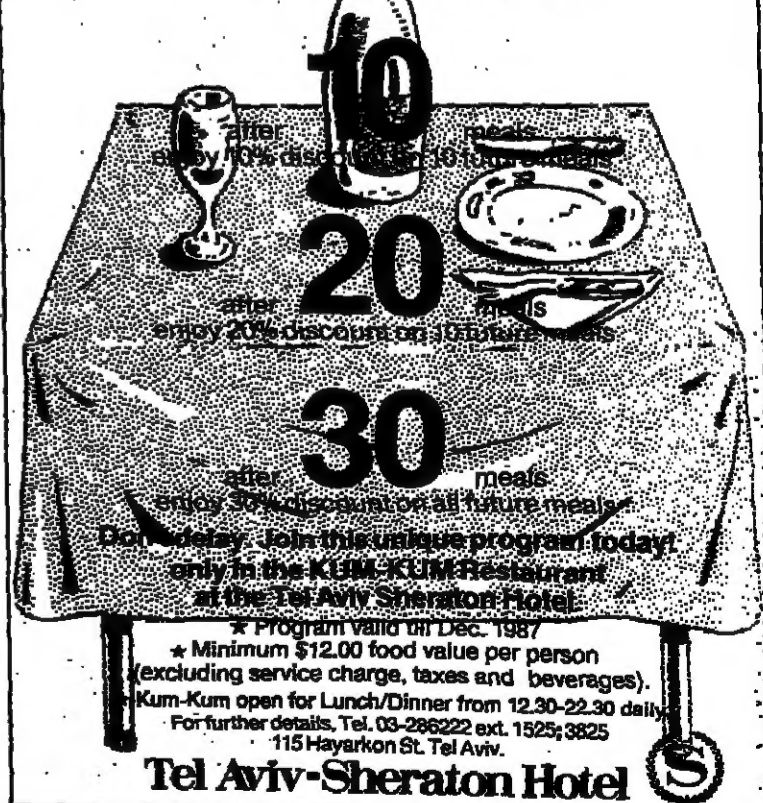
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